RUSSIAN WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
№ 45 NOVEMBER 1992

# NEW TIMES

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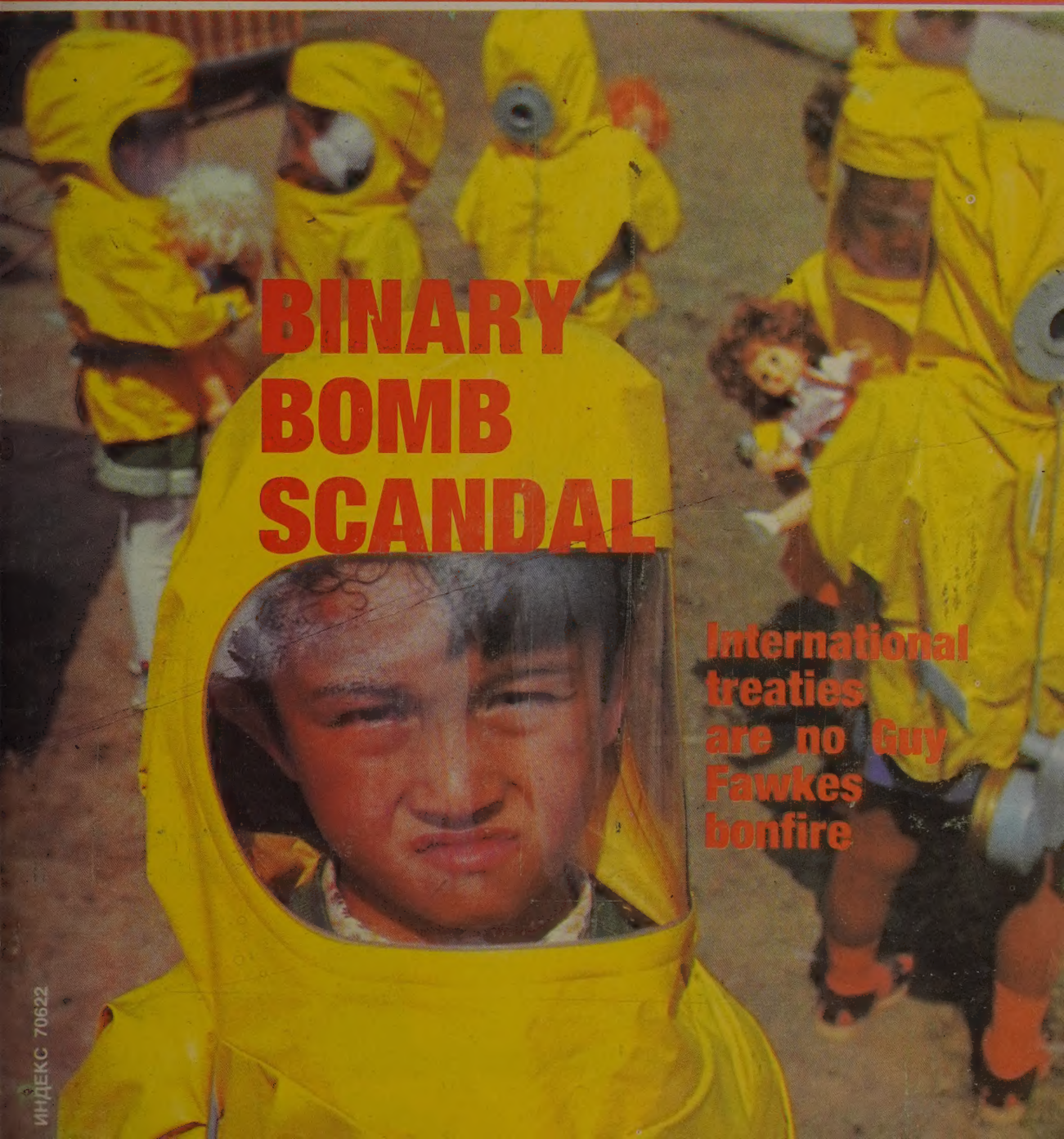

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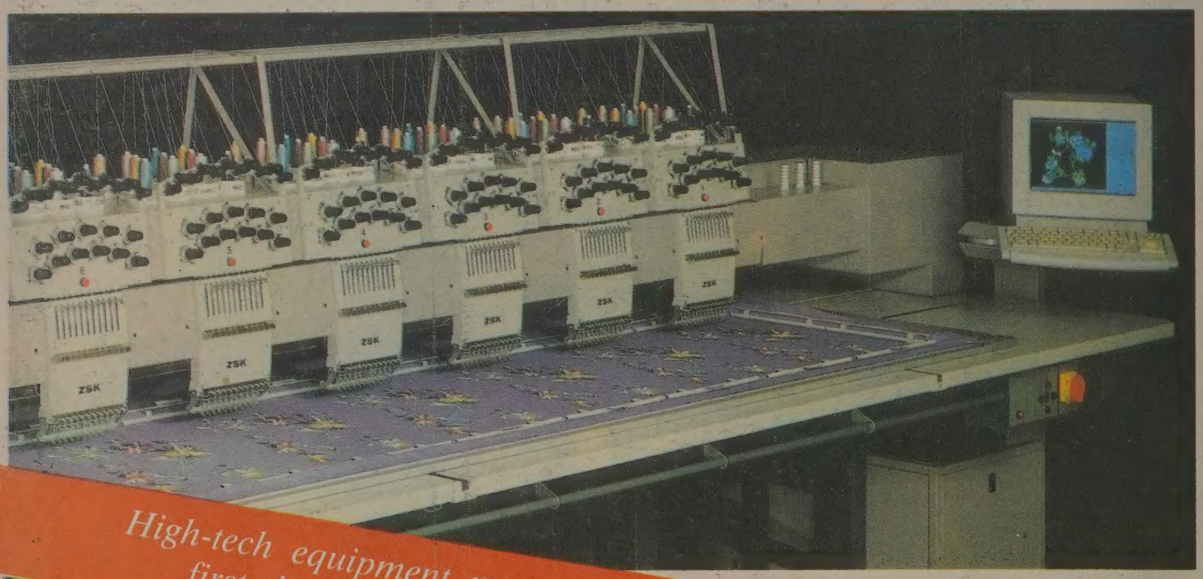


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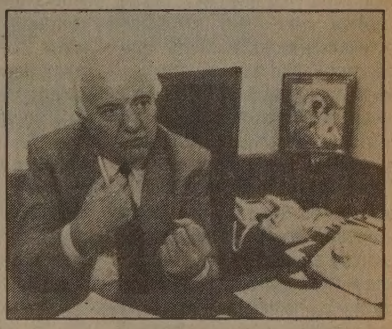

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The Poles' never-forgotten pain over the victims of Katyn

### Humbled in his own land

In the eyes of the civilized world the victimization of Gorbachev by the Russian authorities looks unseemly and shameful. Not a single competent lawyer can dispute his right to appear or not to appear before the Constitutional Court as a witness in hearings on the Communist Party case. It is inhuman to hound him as a mouse, trying to humiliate and morally crush him. No one can know this man's tragedies and torments, he has done so much for mankind and has freed it from the constant fear of self-annihilation, and instead of gratitude, he is humiliated in his own land. It is said that some eminent producer has offered Gorbachev to be filmed in the part of King Lear. I don't know whether it is true or imagined, but there is indeed something similar in their destinies. I wish the Russian authorities would give thought to the Shakespearean character's tragic end, his suffering for his kindness and sympathy. Do they really want the same for Gorbachev?

**Thomas Jacobs,**
a priest
Scotland

### A matter of principle or shame?

The following law, apparently evolving in the communist epoch, seems to govern the behavior of people in your country: all people are equal, but some are equal a little more than others. I think Gorbachev is guided precisely by this principle. Without any solid ground he refuses to testify in the Constitutional Court as a witness in the affair he was directly concerned with for many years. The court is examining the President's decree under which the Communist Party was banned and its property confiscated. Gorbachev was not simply a Communist. He was number one Communist, the General Secretary of the party till its ignoble collapse. He has nothing to say about the activity of the Communist Party, its shameful record, and remaining unbiassed, something in its defence. Why does he shy away from appearing in the Constitutional Court? Is it a matter of principle? It is not clear from his incoherent explanations what this adherence to principle means. Is it shame or cowardice? Does Gorbachev think he is displaying heroism thereby enhancing his prestige in the eyes of the people? He has lost the game irrevocably. One can hardly expect him to become General de Gaulle.

**François Marchand,**
member of the French
Communist Party
Marseille

### A nuclear lie

Some time ago I read in a local newspaper that according to Western intelligence sources, Kazakhstan sold three atomic bombs to Iran, one of the worst enemies of my country. Even the sum of the deal, $165 million, was cited to make the information more convincing. I think Kazakhstan is governed by wise men, first of all President Nursultan Nazarbayev, who fully realizes the danger of such a deal and would never take such a step. That is why I ask your magazine to bring it to readers' attention that the report on the sale of Kazakh bombs to Iran is a sheer lie. Its purpose is to excite interest in not very popular newspapers by the publication of trashy sensations. In any case, this view is also shared by Uri Saghi, chief of the Israeli military intelligence AMAN, and all sober-minded Israelis.

**Boruch Sigel,**
Upper Nazareth, Israel

### Apartheid Estonian style

One can understand a Boer of little education who asserted that nowhere on the continent did natives live so well and freely as under the apartheid state of South Africa. His mental outlook did not go beyond his farm, while his notion of the world was limited to the Bible, the only book he read. A racist of this kind can be found today in the boondocks.

But recently I was surprised at what I read in the newspaper *Nepszabadsag* published in Hungary, in the centre of Europe. It carried an interview with Lennart Meri, the newly elected President of Estonia. I have always respected Estonians for their even temper, tolerance, diligence and intellect. It was shocking to learn that Estonia established a world record in the percent of people who live in its territory without citizenship, that is, second-class, inferior people. In other words, it has entered a period of national and racial intolerance which even the classic apartheid state of South Africa has overcome. Are the laurels of racists so tempting for Estonian leaders?

The attempts to justify "Estonian apartheid" by President Meri, a writer (what a humane profession!) and a diplomat (whose inalienable merit is the ability to persuade) look pathetic. It turns out, according to the head of state, that the people deprived of citizenship "can have their own schools and news media" and they "have full cultural autonomy." Exactly the same arguments were used by South African racists to justify segregation. The Africans, whose dignity was flouted, also had their own schools. They had their newspapers and "the right to cultural autonomy." But did this justify discrimination against them?

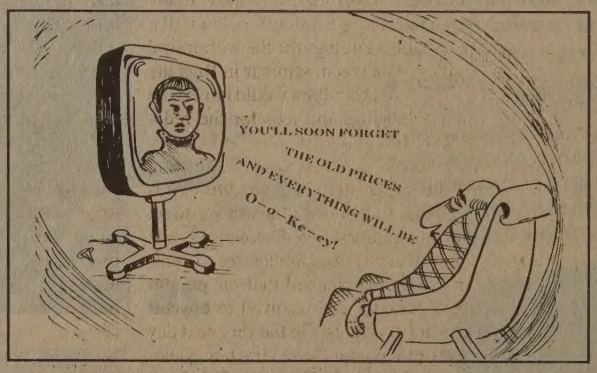
**Sandor Zilberstein**
Budapest

### A fable about two mice

Gorbachev's charges that Yeltsin "isn't coping with his task" and acts as "a destructive force" sound ridiculous. Staying at the helm for nearly seven years, he did nothing to improve the life of ordinary Russians. He used his energy for empty talk and visits to other countries. The loss by Gorbachev of political control over the state led to the break-up of the USSR. Yeltsin and his team are making incredible efforts to keep Russia from falling into an abyss. Though his successes are very modest, his desire to save the country and its people is obvious. In this connection I remembered a fable about two mice which fell into a milk pot. One of them decided that its situation was hopeless and sank, while the other beat with its legs to exhaustion until a piece of butter formed and, standing on its hind legs, the mouse got out of the pot. The first mouse reminds me of Gorbachev and second of Yeltsin for his tireless energy and faith that the country can be saved only by desperate struggle.

**William Wise,**
tradesman
Memphis, USA

## THE WAY I SEE IT




*Drawing by Yevgeny Starodubtsev*

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# President Yeltsin leaves troops in the Baltics to restart dialogue from the beginning

President Boris Yeltsin's sensational decision to suspend the pullout of the 74,000 Russian troops still deployed in the three Baltic states has already had adverse international repercussions. Concern has been voiced by the U.S. State Department and the Foreign Offices of some dozen Western and Central European states. In Japan Russia's tougher stand is directly linked to the Kremlin's reluctance to concede anything of the empire legacy, including the Kurils. In Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania angry complaints pour into global and European international organizations that had guaranteed the former Soviet army's swift, full and well-organized pullout from the Baltics. Even Algirdas Brazauskas, who won the latest Lithuanian general election and who is more loyal to Moscow than all else, declared that "Lithuania has not done anything to cause Russia not to honour her commitments."

The *pro forma* motive does not hold water. President Yeltsin blamed violation of the rights of Russophones. However, one can scarcely see how Russian troops may alleviate the discrimination recorded in Latvian and Estonian legislation or understand why Lithuania should be thus accused as non-Lithuanians suffer no discrimination there, while Russian officers are only too delighted to serve in the Lithuanian army for good pay.

However, from the domestic angle Yeltsin's move, so unhappy as regards Russia's foreign policy situation, assumes a different colouring. To understand the motivation one must firstly qualify the material privations behind the eloquent political declaration for the withdrawal from the Baltics. At a recent seminar in Riga the Russians said 47.5 billion rubles would have to be paid to provide lodgings and jobs for the redeployed 7,000, 17,000 and 9,000 officers from respectively Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Though not the largest item of expenditure, it is most combustible, fraught with the army's direct intervention into politics. On October 19, the Council of Officers' Assemblies of troops stationed in the Baltics claimed that the pullout was a strategic blunder and resolved to boycott the Defence Ministry chiefs. On the very next day Defence Minister General Pavel Grachev, yielding to pressure, said the pullout would be suspended until everything related to troops' redeployment was settled. Though this is juridically unlawful, President Yeltsin seconded it, as in the current troublesome time of confrontation with legislators, he stands in need of the army's backing more than ever.

Further, President Yeltsin has thereby mounted an offensive against the Red-White national-communist opposition in its own court. While opposition has eloquently championed the rights of Russia's 25 million expatriates, President Yeltsin has taken action, showing that it would be unpatriotic to stand in his way at such a time of tension.

The President's decision also comes as a pleasant surprise to the industrialist lobby, that has long accused the Balts of encouraging the unlawful export from Russia of valuable raw and other materials. Russian ministers have told me that over the year more than one million tons of scarce petrol has seeped out of Russia via the Baltics, while the drainage on Russian non-ferrous metals has placed Estonia sixth in the table of European exporters. They believe the present tough stand will compel the Baltic governments to count with Russia's economic interests and refrain from legislation encouraging the reexport so ruinous for Moscow.

Yeltsin's decision indicates that Russia wants to restart the dialogue with the Balts from the very beginning, proceeding not only from the noble principles of international declarations but also from pragmatic considerations. Privileges would go to those better comprehending the Kremlin's difficulties and interests. Which means that after seeing the occupation army go at last, they will get economic preference. Meanwhile the obstinate will have to rethink whether it is worthwhile being so pigheaded and suffer discomfort due to quarrelsome relations with the Kremlin.

*Vladimir Kulistikov*

# THIS WEEK

■ Relations between the North Ossetians and Ingushes have aggravated recently. The causes of the conflict go back to the times of WWII. A part of the territory inhabited by Ingushes, who had been deported to Siberia for "collaboration" with Germans, was turned over to North Ossetia. The Ingushes have never agreed with this redivision and have now decided to restore justice. Groups of armed Ingushes invaded North Ossetia and almost reached Vladikavkaz, the capital of that autonomous republic. Their advance was accompanied by bloody excesses.

Russian Vice-Premier Georgy Khizha urgently flew to Vladikavkaz. He declared that Russia had enough forces to make the invaders respect the law. Russian troops have been ordered to open fire in the event of provocations. At present they hold positions between the Ossetians and Ingushes to prevent a large-scale armed conflict. Russian airborne troops are being flown into North Ossetia.

The unexpected outburst of enmity between the two nationalities suggests the idea of a cynically planned action aimed ar fanning a civil war in the south of Russia and tearing the North Caucasus away from it. In this connection news analysts point to persistent rumours about plans for establishing a "North Caucasian republic," in the near future. Chechen President Djakhar Dudayev is expected to fill the post of President of the prospective republic.

■ The situation in Tajikistan remains very tense. It is particularly unstable in the Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab regions, the zone of the armed conflict. In Kalininabad, a city in the Kurgan-Tyube region, terrorists killed Djionkhon Rizoyev, Chairman of the Kulyab regional executive council and a former Tajik Interior Ministry official, who headed the Kulyab regional board for disarming illegal armed groups.

In Dushanbe, capital of the republic, the situation is controlled by units of the Interior Ministry and the National Security Committee and home guards. The most important enterprises and public utilities are guarded by troops of the 201st Motorized Division of the Russian Army. A state of emergency and curfew have been imposed.

The leadership in the republic decided to convene a national assembly (Mejlis) to discuss Tajikistan's acute socio-political problems. It will be held in Khojend, the administrative centre of the Leninabad region.

■ Fighting has again flared up in the area of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict. Georgian government troops struck a massive rocket blow at Abkhazian positions. Skirmishes were reported in the vicinity of Gudauta and other towns and villages, with several people killed and wounded. Georgian guns destroyed the oil stock yard and oil refinery near the village of Eshera.

For the first time after the flight of former President Zviad Gamsakhurdia from Tbilisi his aids met with representatives of Georgia's State Council and, having put discords aside, decided to combine their forces in the struggle against the common enemy, Abkhazian armed formations. Gamsakhurdia promised to supply 1,500 men against the Abkhazian rebels.

**War in Abkhazia: Kalashnikov submachine guns take place of plows**

■ One of Russia's largest trade unions – the Ore Mining and Metallurgical Workers' Union with a membership of 2,148,000 – decided to withdraw from the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia.

**Metallurgists' passion boils like red-hot ore**

The leaders of the union, which unites ore mining and metallurgical workers, disagree with the policy of the federation's leadership towards a return to state regulation in the economy, first of all in economic ties, prices and wages.

■ President Yeltsin's press secretary made public a statement which says:

"Acting as a guarantor of democracy and basic freedoms of the citizens of Russia, the President signed a decree on dissolving the organizing committee of the National Salvation Front.

"The decree envisages prompt measures for terminating the activity of this anti-constitutional organization and averting a resumption in any form of the activity of this and other similar extremist organizations on the entire territory of Russia."

■ The political council of the National Salvation Front stated its position on the presidential decree in an appeal to the peoples of Russia and the Soviets of People's Deputies. The appeal says in particular: "The political council of the National Salvation Front considers that all its documents are in full accord with the Constitution of Russia." At the same time, the political council made sharp attacks against the President and called on the citizens of Russia to support the Front in the struggle against the "anti-people's government."

■ A meeting sponsored by democrats was held in Moscow. It drew eminent scientists, writers, people's deputies of Russia and activists in the democratic movement. In the unanimous opinion of speakers who addressed the meeting the existing parliament has become a destabilizing force hindering reform.

At a time when "deputies are pressing hard on the President" and Russia is threatened with a collapse of power and ensuing anarchy, the government is limited in its choice of measures, and democrats must support Yeltsin on possible tough measures, it was stated at the meeting.

# THIS WEEK

■ There have appeared dangerous tendencies towards formation of unconstitutional structures of authority which threaten to erode or destroy the renascent Russian statehood, the board of the Russian Security Ministry warned in its statement. This danger is still aggravated by a decline in living standards, the growth of armed forms of crime, corruption, terrorism, inter-ethnic discord, the squandering of national wealth, and the desire of some parties and movements to use current difficulties for the advancement of their factional interests in the struggle for power.

At its recent meeting the Security Ministry board expressed confidence that Russia can become highly developed, democratic and law-governed only on the basis of national consent, the consolidation of legislative and executive power, and all progressive forces.

In the future as well, the board stated, the federal security bodies will act only in strict accordance with the Constitution, laws of the Russian Federation and the President's decrees, ensuring the protection of the country's sovereignty, territorial integrity, defensive capacity and legal guarantees for every citizen of Russia.

■ President Yeltsin signed a decree on dissolving the department in charge of guarding the buildings of supreme bodies of authority and administration in the Russian Federation. It had been set up by Speaker Khasbulatov without the knowledge of parliament in October 1991.

**New security for the White House**

By the end of October 5,000 of the Speaker's armed men in police uniform guarded 75 of the most important buildings in Moscow. At present these buildings are protected by men subordinate to the President, that is, the Main Guard Department of the Russian Federation. According to the decree, even the Speaker will be guarded not by his bodyguards, but by agents of the Ministry of Security.

■ The newly formed government of Ukraine has sat down to work. The task of extricating the republic from the crisis was entrusted to the Kuchma team. In the new cabinet three vice-premiers are former managers and another three are active members of the Rukh movement. None of them held top posts in the Communist Party and higher economic or government bodies. The heads of key ministries retained their posts.

Premier Kuchma stressed that he assumes full responsibility for the government's actions and promised to end "the period of cold war with Russia."

■ The Russian Ministry of Justice presented the Moscow press-club with a registration document certifying its international status.

The Moscow press-club was set up two years ago. It is a member of the European Federation of Press Clubs, which unites 40,000 journalists from 12 press centres. A membership card of the Moscow press club opens for its owner the doors of the press clubs in London, Paris, Barcelona, Frankfurt, Vienna, Milan and other cities.

## CARTOON OF THE WEEK

*Drawing by Vladimir Mochalov*

A member of the press club can use the various services offered by all partner clubs. Local newspapers and magazines will supply him with necessary information and foreign journalists can give him assistance in his work.

■ Konstantin Borovoi, who is running for people's deputy in the city of Krasnodar, invented a new effective method of winning votes. The wealthy candidate promised to give a prize of 5,000 rubles to every voter who would correctly and in a most interesting way answer his questions. The fascinating game proposed by the financier is viewed by some as a veiled form of "buying votes."

■ The pedigree livestock breeding farm Vorsino, in the Kaluga region (the central European part of Russia) found an original way of protecting its herd. It acquired parachute flares. Every night such a flare is launched over the farm's territory, aiding the guardsmen on duty in their work. The unorthodox measure enabled the farm to reduce losses in its herd by two thirds.

## Quotation of the week

*"I am surprised at the small amount of capital invested in Russia. Despite the stunning number of legal, economic and political ambiguities, this market has such a great potential that companies think it is worth working there. Many believe that refusal to make investments is fraught with an even greater risk."*

***Prof. Geoffrey Sax,***
Harvard University

*"I said once that a clever politician would never agree to run such a country as Georgia. Why did I do it? It's simply because Georgia is my homeland."*

***Eduard Shevardnadze,***
Chairman of the Georgian parliament

# Eleventh hour

For Russia and the world Gaidar symbolizes reform. Hence Yeltsin will need to weigh all *pros* and *cons*, when deciding the lot of his team

On the eve of Congresses, Russia's political climate heats up. This time we have had a fortnight of stormy developments, clearly indicating that all political forces attach a very special significance to preparations for it. On the eve of this Congress of People's Deputies, both President and Parliament believe it vital to flex muscles. Their rivalry, which abates somewhat from spring till autumn and from autumn till spring is again sharper.

Caught napping at the previous Congress, by the pugnacity of its Deputies, President Yeltsin has now started preparations well in advance, requesting a postponement as a trial balloon, that was moreover, seconded by the Presidents of Russia's various republics, who established a Council of Republic Heads somewhat akin to Gorbachev's old Federation Council.

Was this body devised merely to exert psychological pressure on Parliament? Whatever the case, Parliament spurned its "beloved enemy." Yeltsin's response was most impressive with Russian television bringing his wrath to millions of viewers. What motivated Yeltsin's hopes that the MPs would meet him in the way? After all, ever since the August putsch, they have not let a single opportunity miss to tell the President off and are now doing this with still great aplomb on the eve of the Congress.

**Reforms are again at stake. Every six months this, from Congress to Congress**

Yet until now Yeltsin had not demonstrated such response.

To cut a long story short, on the eve of the Congress extensive manoeuvering is under way.

## Scenarios

Judging by the number of MPs who supported Yeltsin's request when it was put to the vote, his backing in Parliament is sliding. Meanwhile the Congress, as practice has shown, is, as a rule, more radical and sharper than Parliament.

So what is the President doing? After all, he is obliged to count with the new realities. Yet, what he is doing produces conflicting impressions.

On the one hand his address to the Supreme Soviet was restrained, calm, and resolute. Not a single painful issue was dodged and there was businesslike comment in respect of everything. Such as inflation, social security, the rights of Russian diaspora on the territory of formerly-Soviet republics, the ecological situation, and the declaration that, "Russia is not at all threatened with famine."

He immediately followed this up with practical moves, such as a pension raise and the promise to postpone – as he did on the eve of the previous Congress – free fuel prices. Also suspended is the troop pullout from the Baltics as retaliation for Russophone discrimination. All these moves are plainly designed to curry favour with a large section of the political spectrum and the electorate.

He likewise criticized the government and personally three ministers – who may be sacrificed? He also addressed well-intentioned gestures to the "middle-of-the-way Civil Union," which many construe as the President's preparedness to flirt with Arkady Volsky's directors party. Meanwhile, Gaidar and his Vice-Premiers are energetically contacting plant managers and to good purpose, with some already coming to terms with Gaidar.

Yet there have been thinly veiled threats such as "I won't forget that," when Parliament refused to postpone the Congress, plus more rumours about the Staro Ogaryovo meeting at which a pressure group undertook to argue the possibility of a temporary suspension of Parliament, and seemingly offered Yuri Skokov's candidacy as an alternative for Gaidar. Finally, direct presidential rule was hinted at.

As far as one can judge, the President is conducting preparations on many planes with an eye to compromise, while simultaneously drafting other scenarios.

## Parliament continues to discredit itself

We all seem used to Parliament by now. One would think nothing it or its Speaker could trot out to astonish us. Yet the past few weeks have seen another couple of rows, indicating that there is still much which might occur.

**Hearsay names Arkady Volsky and Yuri Skokov as likeliest prime-minister candidates. But is the advent of the military industrial complex that inevitable?**

Take first the affair of the White House guard, which had been personally subordinated to the Speaker. These extra-constitutional 5,000 armed men eventually attracted Yeltsin's eye. It appeared that their commanding officer had given guns to everyone the Speaker had indicated, and that these armed men had been posted at the doors to all crucial Russian Federation state institutions.

Even after Khasbulatov's guardsmen had clashed time and again with the police and this had caught the public eye, they continued to threaten and resist the lawful bodies of power.

To have an unlawful armed formation under the wing of the legislative arm was so atrocious that it would have been more in the interests of the MPs and their Speaker to play the whole thing down. Nevertheless despite the risk Ruslan Khasbulatov sought once again to try his strength against the President to see who had the upper hand.

The rivalry between the two arms of authority came to a head in the scuffle between police and White House guardsmen at *Izvestia's* doors.

One more remarkable "success" for Parliament was the stand taken against the "gang of four," to wit the three ministers and the State Secretary who at a news conference for foreign correspondents had served warning once again as to the dangers of revanchism. Parliament believed itself obligated to give the four a dressing down, and demand an explanation as, after all, the four are pet targets.

After the four reechoed their statement via Foreign Minister Kozyrev and, counting the case closed, walked out, passions ran high in the chamber. Proposals were even made to reprimand them, which already smacked of the somewhat forgotten Party meetings at which so-called misconduct was discussed.

The row erupting in connection with the Speaker's having been caught in a suspicious conditions while the session was still in progress, came as a bombshell. Now the entire country wonders whether Khasbulatov is a lush or drug addict. Which actually is of no particular significance as both well nigh conform to national tradition. People are simply curious.

By now the image of Khasbulatov, which though a colourful one, possesses but little in the way of good taste and breeding – thus we may mention his wiliness, inordinate familiarity, forgetfulness and megalomania – has been complemented by more "notable" features. Some believe Khasbulatov's blunder spells curtains for his career: however, I think it will have no particular consequence, as scarcely shall we see the ashamed MPs rushing to re-elect their Speaker.

Generally one has the impression that Parliament is continuing to discredit itself.

## Futile efforts

Since the previous Congress the issue is still that of who will win. Will the President oust the Congress, or will developments go the other way. The thing though is that neither Yeltsin, nor the MPs have any constitutional rights to do so.

The President may not disband the Congress, even though up his sleeve is that ace of trumps which he had threatened to play in spring yet, to wit is a referendum, an appeal to the nation to choose between him and the MPs.

Who the Russian voter will prefer is anyone's guess. Scarcely is the Congress convinced that it is popular, the more so as the new Constitution draft makes no

**Alexander Titkin, Pyotr Aven, and Andrei Nechaev are the three ministers with whom the President is not pleased. Will they be sacrificed?**

provision for this unquestionably obsolete structure. Yeltsin is also hazarding his all, though it is not the first time he has done so.

Still I think the President will take such action only as the last resort. No wonder the threat he issued half a year ago to go to the nation never matured. One firstly wonders whom a new election would bring to the White House. A Zhirinovsky, perhaps? Then the President will have created a none-too-desirable precedent which somewhat later might boomerang.

In theory the Congress has more options to choose from to cause the President to knuckle under. Thus, it may impeach him for infringement of the Constitution, by drawing upon the Constitutional Court's initial annulment of his edict to merge the two repressive bodies of the Federal Security Agency and the Internal Affairs Ministry. Then if by December 1 the Constitutional Court revokes the presidential edicts in respect of the CPSU, the ledger discrediting Yeltsin will be twice as thick.

However, the law has nothing in the way of a machinery for impeachment. Too many questions remain unanswered, such as: How many times is the President to violate the Constitution? Wilfully or not? Would such a violation have consequences or not, and would that carry any weight? Plainly the Constitutional Court, not Parliament, will decide how to interpret what is needed to impeach the President – in which case the MPs will have lost the initiative.

The President's more rabid adversaries have another scenario which is to push through constitutional amendments by a two-thirds majority. Though it is difficult to delete the Presidency from the Constitution, as it was installed by virtue of popular referendum which thus places the President above the reach of so distinguished a body as the Congress, still all the chief executive's essential functions may be cancelled, which would reduce him to the status of a nominal figurehead.

Should the MPs recklessly pressure Yeltsin into adopting such extreme measures as the proclamation of a state of emergency or presidential rule? The more so as the army has professed loyalty to the constitutionally elected President, while as of November 1 the staff of the Interior Affairs bodies will be getting a pay rise.

There is no question that Yeltsin's threat to "disperse the Congress" comes as a bitter pill for the MPs, causing them to overreact. The jitters appear to be a salient characteristic of today's politicians. However, the President's brainier supporters and the brainier MPs need political stability more than anything else. Both sides realize that, finding it not to their advantage to rock the boat.

## Will Kalashnikovs prevail?

If Yeltsin and the MPs overdo it, in trying to oust each other a third party may seize power.

Only recently a group of MPs published an appeal to the President, which incidentally echoes a pre-putsch appeal. Its sole proposition is for both President and MPs to go.

Though this would appear to be self-denial for the sake of the truth, one is curious to know what this truth will amount to. There is certainly nothing very constructive about it.

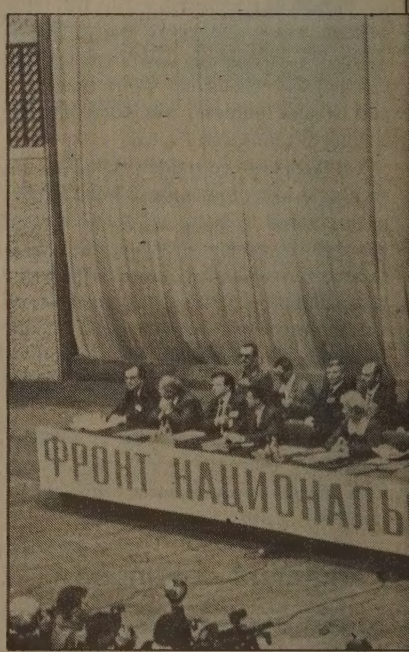
In this country, where law and order are very low even under a lawful constitutional authority, one can only anticipate upper lawlessness should both President and Parliament go.

Indeed, banishment of lawful authority, whether President or Parliament, is most corrosive, as is well illustrated by Georgia, Tajikistan and Chechen. In Russia, her sprawling territory, vast demographic resources and saturation with guns, treble this corrosion.

There is also the danger that faced with political instability and economic degradation, the populace may prefer one or another adventurer with his eye-catching slogan. Then the void would fill with various self-styled witenagemots, fronts, assemblies, conclaves or unions, with the body commanding the greater number of kalashnikovs the winning the day.

The National Salvation Front the aforementioned appeal announced has its first sitting in Moscow. On the platform were the same old fifteen, from General Makashov to fiery tribune Sazhi Umalatova. These familiars meet regularly, but each time believe it necessary for some reason to trot out a different name, such as a "people's assembly," "the Russian national conclave," or "national salvation front."

It's a constant shuffling of the same faces. Moving from place to place, the fifteen are convinced they have produced the impression of a "powerful resistance." Some indeed really believe they express the will of the people and that as soon as they




**If the President and the deputies will so third party may seize power...**

take over everything will settle down, that prices will drop, uneployment will go and production will mount. However, the other, cleverer folk simply promote their own political power-thirsting ambitions, wanting to be at the helm in place of Yeltsin and his men.

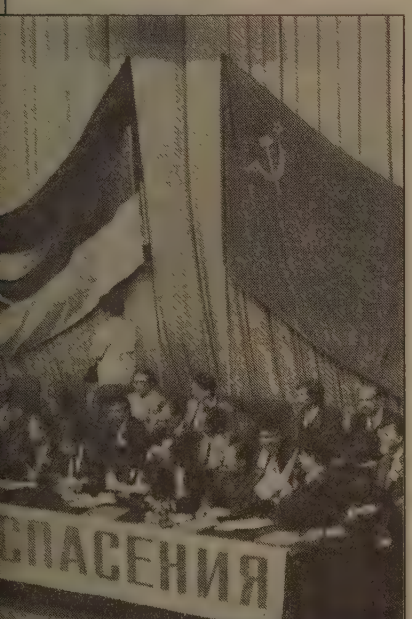
## Ritual sacking round the corner

The Number One question for Yeltsin today is to defend the reform policy, to which he pledged himself before the eyes of the entire world. To this end the President seems prepared, as half a year earlier, to display flexibility and smoke the pipe of peace with the Congress, provided the deputies do not demand too much.

At this Congress the President will face one more trial, which is that his additional powers, to wit the right to issue edicts having the force of law and the right to form the government on his own hook will, more likely than not, not be prolonged.

It is absolutely clear that Gaidar and his "boys" are threatened with sacking. After all the Congress needs a scapegoat, which is rather ritual than rational. At this point the President will have to weigh all the *pros* and *cons* in deciding the government's lot.

He seems to have little chance of retaining the full cabinet. Perhaps the deputies will be satisfied if several ministers are sacked as was done at the previous Congress.




**frantically strive to oust one another, a**

What great fears were voiced then, when Gaidar incorporated in his team those three directors, two from the defence complex, the third from the power industry lobby.

Indeed apprehensions were great, yet hopes were as great. Nevertheless the recruitment of Vladimir Shumeiko, Georgi Khizha and Victor Chernomyrdin hardly affected the progress and quality of reform. They neither expedited nor inhibited reform. To all practical intents no room was left for economic manoeuvre.

But could Yelstin be echoing Gorbachev by his concessions, under pressure from the right-wing and the conservatives?

"You may sack me," Yegor Gaidar told Parliament, "but scarcely will you so easily tackle the economic problems." Noting that the cabinet had made many mistakes Yeltsin nevertheless opined that any other government would have been still worse.

It would be a mistake to oust Gaidar nowadays, when the West is again deciding whether our debt payment be postponed. The name of Gaidar among the country's leaders is as symbolical of stability, as that of Yeltsin. At home and abroad many believe that "Gaidar spells reform and that if he went, reform would be out.

Oftener it is said that economic policy takes precedence over a definite cabinet.

## Are the Democrats giving way?

For some reason nobody has considered an option whereby Yeltsin might recruit a different reform team, for instance that of Grigori Yavlinsky. Discussed are the candidacies of Skokov, Ryzhov, and Volsky who are all associated with the military industrial complex. The manner in which the economic issue be resolved is geared to political compromise. Yet, it might differ and not necessarily imply a full cabinet reshuffle.

It is absolutely plain that every new government would take time to form its team, after that it would need to present its programme to Parliament whose endorsement would again take time. Finally, it would need still more time to get into the swim of things.

That would naturally on no account expedite reform or rectify the economic situation, while very shortly another Congress would convene and again perhaps demand the new government's ouster.

The same alludes to plans to replace Gaidar by directors from the Civil Alliance. Yet even daredevil champions of reform from the Radical Democrat faction wonder whether it might not be worth while yielding pride of place to Volsky's directors, firstly because that would rebuff the patriots and communists of the right-wing.

Indeed unlike the sundry fronts, assemblies and conclaves, the directors are competent solid folk, but with their own clearly voiced interests.

Till now Arkady Volsky has shown enough commonsense. At any rate he has never abdicated the idea of reform. His stated programme is to resume budget subsidies for major lines, while gradually regearing small and medium enterprises to a market economy and switching to privatization on the basis of joint-stock companies, when conditions are conducive.

However, a programme of this order would only prolong the agony. Indeed after subsidies are resumed, nothing could then force the directors to accept change. Is there any guarantee that after it is in the saddle the military industrial complex will not sing a different tune and its current preparedness to collaborate give way to implementation of its own interests by force? And is there any guarantee that with the passage of time, yielding to pressure from the director lobby, centralized subsidies would not be extended to those self-same small and medium enterprises?

True, the economy itself will eventually limit these aspirations. As the exchequer is empty, production can be subsidized only by printing more and more money. That will generate a hiperinflation worse than anything before. That is if not earlier Russia's economy goes completely bust as the cabinet formation process will leave it completely without guide or support.

The self interest of Soviet major property owners, if linked to power structures, may suppress in the minds of the middle-of-the-way Civil Alliance men the current sober approach and desire for cooperation. How is that thorny, problem to be resolved?

* * *

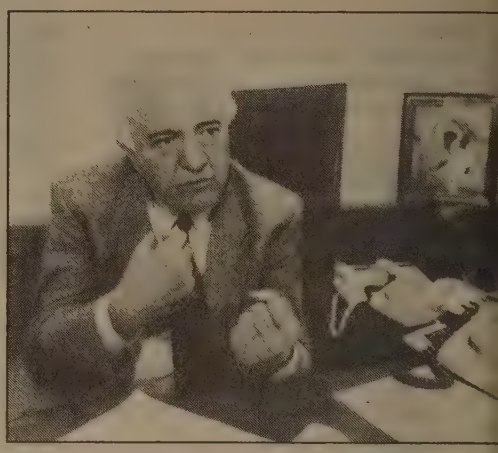
The results of the Congress will depend upon the extent to which the President and the people's deputies are aware of the responsibility they bear for further development.

The picture one gains at present is that while the President and the government are trying to do something, the deputies merely meet from time to time to rebuke the ministers for negligence. However, such a pattern heavily distorts notions of the Russian economy's true potention. Are our authorities really able to evolve a common knowledge only at the price of political upheaval?

*Marina Shakina*

# Hunting the one-and-a-half-eyed archer

**Should one think Eduard Shevardnadze is a devil in human form and regard all Georgians as barbarians?**



Eduard Shevardnadze: in the coil of circumstances?

All the hate felt for Eduard Shevardnadze as a party liberal, as Gorbachev's *perestroika* ally, as a minister who established a close relationship with the West and "betrayed" Eastern Europe, is at last justified.

Even his most fervent admirers feel embarrassed. Meanwhile his opponents triumphantly announce: "We always said he was a turncoat. Only the day before yesterday he praised Brezhnev to the skies, and yesterday he championed democracy, but is today sending tanks out! He is to blame for the hundreds killed in Abkhazia. Just fancy, only three years ago he demanded penalties for our generals when some folk died in Tbilisi in the process of dispersing an unlawful rally."

## The neglected mansion

When Eduard Shevardnadze came to Georgia after it parted with Zviad Gamsakhurdia, many both inside and outside Russia heaved a sigh of relief, believing a civilized order would now reign in Georgia at least.

It was expected that Shevardnadze would initiate a grand reign. However, he has dispatched troops to Abkhazia, is exploding the Caucasus, is quarrelling with Russia, and is less and less like the man who exactly two years ago renounced power and honours because he had been averse to participating in the tightening of screws and in likely bloodshed.

Is there any point in unwinding the tangle of motivations that induced Shevardnadze to go to Georgia?

Was it the intention to climax his career with a presidency? Was it the desire to help his native land in a time of trouble? Or was it the longing for energetic activity? Any of, if not all three, will serve.

Outside that mansion in a quiet Moscow lane that housed the Foreign Policy Association, a sinecure Eduard Shevardnadze had devised for himself, one always saw a limousine flying an embassy flag. Not only ambassadors accredited to Moscow, but all VIPs rushed to pay courtesies. Indeed, as a retired minister, he could expect a life of pleasant ease.

But Eduard Shevardnadze had preferred to dive into the unknown.

All may remember that in his day Shevardnadze had found himself cramped under Gorbachev's leadership. He had had ideas of his own that he could not realize as minister. Then – presto! – came a wonder-working change with him as the Number One Man, not in Rome, true, yet not out in the village.

## Crackpot President

He arrived not in the country he had hoped for. Unfrozen by the April 9, 1989, bloodbath, Georgia soon reached boiling point. Nobody could captain the movement to independence, as strong as in the Baltic republics. Georgian society had split up into a multitude of small parties furiously squabbling among themselves.

Did the inferiority-complexed, crackpottish, self-centred Zviad Gamsakhurdia deserve to be president?

His by no means happy life had accustomed him to dividing people into friends and enemies, with far more of the latter. Gamsakhurdia was doomed, because he had failed to become the President of all the Georgians.

Power in Tbilisi was divided among several strongmen, who prudently set up their own armies as the most conclusive argument in Georgian politics. Why, then, did they summon the Muscovite? Unable to come to terms among themselves, as to who was to be the first among equals, they preferred a man who did not have an army of his own and was hence not dangerous, but who, on the other hand, could impart the semblance of respectability and perhaps secure global recognition. Was that the thought behind it all?

Scarcely can we suspect the organizers of the recent Georgian elections of having faked returns. The instinct of self-preservation induced Georgians to cast an almost unanimous vote for Shevardnadze, with no other candidate visible on the horizon in Georgia today.

## Djaba Ioseliani, a toad for breakfast?

Shevardnadze and the overlords who installed him are observing their non-publicized accord. They demonstrate loyalty, while Shevardnadze, though not initiated, lavishly pardons all their sins. Note that he who forgives the sins of others takes them upon himself. Does he command sufficient prestige for all who transformed the Abkhazian operation into a near-gangster raid?

What does Shevardnadze feel, when having for neighbour Djaba Ioseliani, chieftain of the Mkhedrioni gunmen, who was once sentenced to death for plunder and killing?

But is this present company of his worse in principle than the old company in the Brezhnevian Political Bureau? After all, they were to blame for far more deaths than the newly elected Georgian MP Djaba Ioseliani.

Emile Zola once warned junior colleagues that the world of literature was so disgusting that one could become used to it only by gulping down a plate of slimy toads for breakfast. For that matter the world of politics is as abhorrent. All who like Shevardnadze seek to make grade here must acquire immunity in the form of a good dose of cynicism.

Many think the Abkhazian operation an independent venture undertaken by that selfsame Ioseliani in cahoots with the Defence Minister and newly elected MP Tenghiz Kitovani and believe that Shevardnadze was, in effect, faced with a *fait accompli*. Presuming that they would have Dniester-area situation on their doorstep, the Georgians resolved to strike before the Abkhazians would be strong enough to hold their own.

Why, then, didn't Shevardnadze at once resign or denounce his State Council colleagues? After all, eighteen months earlier,

in a similar situation after the Vilnius massacre, he had pressed Gorbachev to act so. Shevardnadze, no doubt, has an answer up his sleeve.

He cannot remove these people. Only after his election as Speaker will he enjoy some amount of power.

What, to resign? But wouldn't that plunge Georgia in the shambles of still bloodier internecine strife?

## Internationalists transformed

What would the Russian Parliament do, were Abkhazia, as part of Russia, suddenly plump for total independence? Moreover, considering that Abkhazians comprise but 17 percent of its population, while the remainder are Russian?

For several years now Georgian society has been seized by the hysteria of over-reaction.

The longer Shevardnadze stays in this cauldron, the more he will succumb to the influence of such sentiment. Accepting the rules of the game, he already says of the war: "If we need to die, we will, but will never surrender an inch of our land." Though such pathos might not necessarily conform to his own concepts, it definitely indicates the prevalent mood in Georgian society today.

Shevardnadze made a mistake unforgivable for the politician, when he let Georgian troops intrude into Abkhazia and open up a new front there. It was absolutely foolish of him to justify that.

Yet it is also obvious that Shevardnadze is the best of Russia's possible partners in Georgia. Hence it would not be in Russia's interests to make an enemy out of him.

The Ossetian and especially Abkhazian conflicts have served to promote anti-Georgian sentiment in Russia, which may divide peoples linked by close spiritual bonds.

The focus on the events in Georgia and on Eduard Shevardnadze betrays not a sudden interest in the violation of human rights, but the inability to acknowledge the obvious fact that Georgia is no longer part of Russia. The curses with which Shevardnadze is heaped betoken a slighted vanity.

The Whiteguard general Denikin has already been invoked to note that the architects of the independent republic of Georgia in 1918, who had been internationalists in Moscow, had transformed into nationalists when back home in Tbilisi. This is to show that like the leopard, the Georgians will never change their spots.

## "A nation of hawkers"?

Possibly today no one will remember Victor Astafiev's "Angling for Gudgeon in Georgia," a short story published six years ago in the magazine *Nash Sovremennik* (Our Contemporary), which angered all of Georgia.

Though it would be stupid to identify the story's main character with the author, there is something autobiographical about it, possibly because presented as this character is a writer, who at the Writers' Retreat in Gagra had felt awfully slighted, when allotted a room whose windows opened onto a public convenience outside. Consequently everything that occurred while he was holidaying in Georgia engendered the greatest antipathy for everything Georgian. He was irked by the speech, the manners, the customs, the mores, regarding himself as a white missionary out in the sticks amidst primitive tribes.

"Matters went so far that in Russia every non-Russian hawker, the more so from the Caucasus, was scornfully cursed and nicknamed a 'Georgian,'" the writer-character argues. Certainly an excuse to champion the honour of a nation that can on no account be comprised of "hawkers" alone, wasn't it?

However, the Georgians had to stick up for themselves, especially when Valentin Rasputin arrogantly commented on the "sick Georgia" at a writers' forum, and the more so, when General Rodionov moved tanks into the streets of Tbilisi.

Not all Russian authors were so hoity-toity as Victor Astafiev's character. Georgian poets have been translated by their best Russian colleagues, such as Pasternak, Mandelstam, Zabolotsky and Akhmadulina. While are not Georgian music and Georgian movies part of our overall culture?

Early in this century, one Russian poet, who also translated Georgian verse, published a book entitled *The One-and-a-Half-Eyed Archer*, intimating a man facing backwards to the East, but with half an eye slanted westward.

There was a time when Georgia faced Russia and only cast half an eye at the rest of the world. Snobbish contempt for Georgians that is to be sensed amidst certain strata of Russian society might make them turn away from Russia.

*Leonid Mlechin*

## Will Shevardnadze have to deal with a former deputy?

Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev (left) successfully denied rumours of resignation, up to the very moment he quit as Russia's First Deputy Foreign Minister.

As a Russian MP, he headed the Committee for Inter-Republican Relations. When last year President Yeltsin dispatched him to the MFA as a commissar for Kozyrev, he handled relations with the former Soviet republics. His role was an unenviable one. A quietly-minded liberal with a penchant for academic theory, he opposed every attempt made from positions of strength.

Along with his rather extravagant appearance, his liberalism continually irked conservative MPs. Hence sooner or later he had to be sacrificed to appease the universal discontent with Moscow's policy vis-a-vis the immediate abroad. All understood that except the man himself and prodded him to resign, which after much hesitation he did.

As far as one can judge, neither Kozyrev nor his diplomatic colleagues regret his exit. Shelov-Kovedyayev was splendid when it came to debating or composing treatises, but feeble when it came to practical politics and the need to take decisions.

The new First Deputy is Anatoly Adamishin (right), who two years ago happily quit as Shevardnadze's deputy to assume office as ambassador to Italy. A professional Italianist, he must have felt a wrench when recalled to Moscow.

When Boris Yeltsin as Russia's newly elected Parliamentary Speaker was choosing a foreign minister, Adamishin had been seen as a possible candidate and had spent several days in Moscow in expectation of a talk with Yeltsin who, however, preferred Kozyrev.

Adamishin has taken over from Shelov-Kovedyayev only from a formal point of view, inasmuch as a different deputy minister, namely Sergei Lavrov, will most likely handle matters concerned with the immediate abroad.

# Is the right bank right?

**Moldova is living through a period of self-styled national revival, the main issue being ethnic self-awareness: who are we? Romanians? Moldovans?**

Linguists have no doubts: "Certainly, we are Romanians. Suffice it to replace the Cyrillic alphabetic system, which is absolutely alien to the language, with the Latin and you will have the Romanian language." Indeed, the inscriptions in the Cyrillic alphabet, wherever preserved, seem absurd to an unaccustomed eye: a Romanic language written in Slavonic letters.

## We're not Romanians

A war is being waged today over an alphabet. It has its heroes and martyrs. To defend the Cyrillics is to dissociate oneself from the official Kishinev. However, on the left bank where the use of the Latin alphabet is banned by the government of the Dniester Republic its use is a heroic action in the struggle for the consolidation of the Moldovan state. I have seen, among the resettlers from the Dniester Region, schoolteachers who had tried to teach the Latin alphabet to their pupils for which they were fired and subjected to other forms of persecution.

"Since you know Romance languages, you can make an impartial judgement. This is a Romanian newspaper, and this is Moldovan. Is there any diffetence?" No, there's none. There are more Russian words in the Moldovan newspaper, as there are more German words in the Swiss French which nevertheless doesn't cease to be French. So does it mean that the Moldovans are Romanians?

A close-up of female faces on a TV screen: "We are not Romanians and we'll never be Romanians! We are Moldovans! And our children will be Moldovans!" This comes from the left bank. Maybe, they are scared or forced to say that? Yet there is such pain, such despair in their eyes... This can't be feigned. These women have nothing to do with philology, and they are just unable to grasp linguistic arguments, where do they fit into the picture?

According to Victor Grebenshchikov, President Snegur's advisor for ethnic problems, today national awareness is not yet settled on either the right or the left bank of the Dniester River. A considerable part of Moldovans regard themselves as Romanians (especially the young and the most elderly ones). The middle-aged ones mostly consider themselves Moldovans; such people are, naturally, more numerous in the Dniester Region (which has never been part of Romania).

The national is inseparable from the political. Moldovan self-identification may be regarded by those who identify themselves as Romanians as a sign of loyalty to the Dniester Region and, consequently, as an orientation to Russia rather than to Romania. At the same time, the Romanian self-identification is often perceived as adherence to the idea of unification.

Women in Ceadyr-Lunghe want peace. They wanted it a year and two years ago. Will their prayers be heeded?

It's to the credit of the President and the government of Moldova that they in no way provoke this national-political connection. The language is Romanian; the alphabet, Latin, but "the national statehood is Moldovan." One of Snegur's entourage told me: "Moldova has a chance, perhaps one in a hundred, to create her own statehood. If we are unable to make use of this opportunity, it will mean that we didn't deserve it."

## Nine percent: too much or too little?

Today there is only one political force upholding the idea of unification, the Christian Democratic National Front (one of the numerous fragments of the former People's Front of Moldova). In 1990 3 percent of those polled pronounced themselves in favor of unification. The last public opinion poll yielded the figure 9. Only 9 percent! But if this is the tendency...

The situation is still uncertain. What factor can promote unification? An economic growth in Romania; the growth of Romanian national self-awareness in Moldova; the dragged-on conflict with the left bank – in the latter case they will solicit Romanian protection from Moscow.

What are the main factors working against unification? Moldova has (for the time being) a higher living standard. The unification with Romania would mean a complete loss in national identity to those who consider themselves Moldovans (to a greater degree than to the so-called Russian speakers). These people have just now got used to seeing themselves as masters of their own country, a free Moldova. What would they be tomorrow? Second-rate provincial Romanians?

An immediate unification would spell a national crisis. I asked Grebenshchikov: "According to your assessments, how great a part of the population would today regard unification with Romania as a catastrophe? Not simply as a disturbing situation, but precisely as a choice between dying and fighting with arms in one's hands?" He pondered a while and said: "One third." "One third of the Russian speakers?" I specified. "No, one third of the population of Moldova," he answered.

Precisely this situation is what disturbs the Russian speakers most. The greater part of them are sure that there'll be no unification as long as Snegur's government is

in power. But what will happen in 3 or 4 years?

"You have completely forgotten about us," complained to me the Kishinev Russians. "As if we don't exist at all. You show interest in people like General Lebed, in the war... Aren't we people enough from your viewpoint?" Here "you" stands for "journalists," but the implication is: it is Russia that has forgotten.

We can be excused: battle scenes look more impressive than routine city life; war provides a correspondent with more dynamic material – generally speaking, all problems pale when people are being killed around the corner. But is it possible to ignore these people's voice?

Their destiny, as well as the destiny of their children, will be decided within the 2 or 3 years to come. What to they feel when they see that Russia's concern for the "rights of the Russian speakers" is limited to the problem of the Dniester Region? More than once did I hear that the louder and more resolute Russia's support of the Dniester Region is, the more difficult their life becomes in the "autochthonous" Moldova.

## Moldova and Austria

The other problem, apart from the fear of becoming a resident of Romania, is language. It was the law on language which triggered a wave of protest in both the Gagauz republic and in the Dniester Region.

"What's the matter?" ask the indignant Moldovans. "Our law on language is the most liberal, they simply don't want to read it." Indeed, the law is very condescending: those occupying official positions and employed in public services are required to speak Moldovan by 1994. Nothing at all is demanded of the rest. Citizenship doesn't require knowledge of the language, suffice it to be a resident of Moldova by the moment of adoption of the law on citizenship (summer of 1990).

"Are all Russians big bosses? Why do they fear 1994 so?"

They fear it with a good reason, because they understand that regardless of what the law says, if one lives in a national state, he must know the national language. Incidentally, not one of my Russian interviewees questioned the legitimacy of this law, and all reproofs for "imperial leanings" are groundless. The simple reason for this fear is that it's not so easy to be confronted with the prospect of suddenly plunging into a Romanian world after having lived all one's life in a Russian one.

Everyone admits that life is much easier for those Russians who know the language, they are not afraid of losing their jobs. They are envied, yet no one is in a hurry to learn it, although help is readily available: free courses, special TV and radio programs, text-books... They display a wait-and-see tactic: God knows what's going to happen next.

Not so many Russians emigrate from Moldova these days: in 1991, 14 thousand left and 10 thousand came. Most of them are perfectly aware of the fact that they are not welcome in Russia. However, the uncertainty in the future prevents them from making conscious efforts to integrate into the new state.

The Department of Education seems to do its best in this situation in order to facilitate their adaptation. "Multi-lingualism" is currently the favourite word of Anatoly Moklak, the head of the Kishinev Department of Education:

"We say that he who knows one language is an internationalist; he who knows two languages is a nationalist; three languages, a Zionist, and if one knows more he is a polyglot. We want our children to become polyglots."

In some places it works, for instance, in Jewish schools (there are two such schools in Kishinev, one secular and one religious). The Russian, Romanian, Hebrew and English languages are obligatory there; Yiddish is optional. The children are handling the load. If everyone in Moldova could so readily and eagerly switch over from one language to another as these children do...

"You are actively creating national schools – there are German, Lithuanian and Polish classes and you are going to open a Ukrainian school. But isn't the Romanian language the major problem?"

"The major problem is to overcome the barrier of monolingualism," answers Moklak..

He believes that the most important thing is to remove the fear of a foreign language, at least in children.

Today the concept of developing good ethnic relations in Moldova proceeds from the necessity to preserve the minorities' national identities in the process of transition to Romanian as the state language. It's precisely the multinational character of the country that will help create a Moldovan, as distinct from Romanian, national self-awareness, if it succeeds in setting the tone in the state. In Europe, Austria provides a striking example: they speak German there, yet no one, except the most abject pan-Germanists, will dare deny its national specificity and sovereignty.

Can Russia help her compatriots there? The decision that passed unnoticed by our press, according to which applicants from Moldova are entitled to gratuitously study in Russian state-run universities, seems to have comforted the Moldovan Russians much more than all promises to defend their rights. Russian schools in Moldova, as well as other national schools there, have open bank accounts which accept state allowances and free-from-taxation donations by any organizations and private donors. Incidentally, this is precisely the way Israel "protects" the Moldovan Jews.

## Sans guardsmen

Quite recently it wasn't so easy to get from Kishinev to Komrat, the administrative centre of the Gagauz republic. The entrance there was blocked by armed Gagauz guardsmen. Now the posts are removed. But what about the problem of secession?

The Gagauzes began their struggle also after the enactment of the language law, but they weren't struggling for the Gagauz language; like Bulgarians who live side by side with them, they defend their right to speak Russian. True, from the very beginning their movement was joined by those few who, as early as the "stagnation years," upheld the idea of Gagauz national self-determination, but at that time it wasn't they who set the tone.

Subsequent developments followed the logic of confrontation. Moldovan parliament decreed by a majority vote that the Gagauzes are not a people but an ethnic group in response to their request, addressed to the Moldovan government, to create a Gagauz autonomy made up of two districts, the Komrat and Ceadir-Lunghe ones. (One of my Gagauz interlocutors who told me about this episode noted with irony: "You know, if the supreme legislative body has resolved that we are not a people, this means we aren't a people! This is indeed an issue to be settled by vote...") At this moment the movement started to assume a more pronounced national character. Their demands became more serious. In the upshot, in August 1990 the Conference of the Gagauz People's Deputies of all levels declared the Gagauz republic to be part of the USSR and independent from Moldova.

They created their own Armed Force. In 1990 the Republic of Moldova found itself on the brink of a bloody war between Kishinev and Komrat. At the last moment the government of Moldova refrained from the use of force.

A radical change occurred after the collapse of the Union. The present leaders of the Gagauz movement don't even think about complete sovereignty, although, of course, this idea still has its advocates. The antagonism with regard to Turkey is still strong enough, although the Gagauz language is closer to Turkish than any other of the contemporary Turkic languages. Only one thing was left for them – negotiation with Moldova's government. Fortunately, there were those ready for a compromise in Kishinev too.

Today the Moldovan government is ready to grant Gagauzia the status of a territory with special jurisdiction (the use of the word "autonomy" is discretely avoided by both sides). It will mean in practice that Gaguzia will have its own legislative and executive bodies of power, the right to official bilingualism and the right to independently make decisions concerning the unification with Romania if there arises the necessity to choose. No problem? I wish there weren't! The session of Parliament is approaching, that same parliament which has once aggravated the tension in this region. I wonder what it will find unacceptable in the draft law proposed by the government? What decision will it pass by a majority vote this time?

The situation in the Gagauz movement is also unstable, if national radicals take the upper hand there, the threat of a new war will once again loom over the land.

*Galina Kovalskaya*

KISHINEV – CEADYR-LUNGHE – MOSCOW

# Nationalistic "Euro-demons"

"A new spectre is haunting Europe, the spectre of nationalism." In the beginning of the year this paraphrased dictum of the founders of Marxism-Leninism appeared on the pages of European newspapers and magazines. It was used to characterize the situation that arose in the east of the continent after the old phantom – the notorious "spectre of communism" – had been dispelled.

What do we see shortly after this announcement? In Germany, we see outrages by neo-fascist skinheads and in Britain, an outburst of terrorism by the Irish Republican Army. Moreover, the "new Euro-demons" of militant nationalism, to use the expression of NATO Commander-in-Chief Shalikashvili, an American of Georgian-Polish descent, have wormed their way into the most respected traditional institutions of the continent. The Le Pen party has strengthened its positions in the French parliament. In the British parliament, a real "trench war" is beginning between the advocates and opponents of the Maastricht treaty, which envisages the formation of political and monetary-financial unions in the European Community. Attacks on the treaty are so fierce that Prime Minister Major warned: if it is not ratified an early parliamentary election will be in order. A national referendum is not ruled out either.

In Denmark, the Maastricht treaty was rejected, and in France, its advocates gained a slim majority. It seems the new spectre has moved farther into the West than its predecessor and is acting more effectively there, blocking in particular the way to a long-awaited European unity, a comfortable "common home."

Where do the "Euro-demons" draw their "negative energy potential"? If one is to believe most Western political scientists, they draw this potential from the east of the continent, first of all in former Yugoslavia, now torn by civil war, and from the disintegrated Soviet Union. Indeed, it is easy to see that the "fluids" of national conflicts are penetrating from the east into Western Europe. They are moving together with refugees, whose maintenance requires large funds, and "economic emigrants," who are often prepared to violate the laws of the countries where they found shelter. It turned out that these "fluids" of implacability and confrontation find fertile soil in many West European countries, where the memory of former wars and reprisals against foreigners is still fresh and fear of losing national distinctive features and prosperity is growing.

Danes have no desire to share their well-being with the Portuguese, just as Slovenes with Montenegrins. "There is a real danger that the break-up of Yugoslavia will become not an exception on the road to adaptating to a post-communist life, but a precedent for the entire post-communist Europe, a terrifying vision of the coming 21st century," European Bank president Jacques Attali wrote recently. "Economic troubles can lead to such extremes as the struggle of each nation, each race and tribe between one another for a piece of the diminishing economic pie." There is no way of justifying the West's behaviour, Attali goes on, if "it fences itself off and thus stimulates the raising of barriers in Eastern Europe."

Symptoms of this process have long been observed. Even such pro-Western countries as Poland, Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia "are kept at a distance of a stretched out hand from Western markets," as one analyst noted. What can be said then about Balkan countries and, the more so, about the member states of the Commonwealth. As for Russia, certain circles would like to isolate it in general, to fence it off from Europe. It is a revival of the prewar concept of the "cordon sanitaire," but in a new, modernized variant of "two belts." "The first belt would consist of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania," the German magazine *Aussenpolitik* wrote, "and the second belt of the states which arose on the territory of the former Soviet Union, between the Baltic and Black seas."

It seems that the authors of the so-called "Black Sea-Baltic confederation" drew their inspiration from the concept of "cordon sanitaire." The project of such a confederation is put forward now and then during talks between the leaders of some former Soviet republics, from Estonia and Latvia to Moldova and Ukraine. It will not be possible to realize this plan directed towards isolating Russia. However, it has already done much harm. Suffice it to recall the conflict in the Dniester Area, damped down with great difficulty, the ripening of a similar situation in the Russian-speaking Narva Area in Estonia, the aggravating problems in the Crimea and with the Black Sea Fleet, and conflicts in the Caucasus.

This gives rise to a counterreaction in Russia, where ultra-nationalist and anti-Western forces are growing more active. They have forces to rely on waiting in the rear, if we recall the plans of rearmament harboured by such countries as, say, Iran. Teheran newspapers even published appeals for forming a new geopolitical alliance consisting of Iran, China and Russia. West European leaders should think over such an alternative, especially now when the "demons" of nationalism who do not recognize borders, hinder the consolidation of European unity and, moreover, increasingly wreak discord in the continent.

There is only one way of preventing developments along these lines, namely, "relations of hope between the east and the west of the continent, based on openness, market possibilities, equality before law, mutual investment, and common interests." European Bank President Attali will evidently agree with these terms, which is good given that their implementation depends on him too, and to a great extent.

*Dmitry Volsky*

DOSSIER

# LAW OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION ON PROTECTION OF CONSUMER RIGHTS

*(Continued from Nos. 43, 44)*

**Article 33. Budget for Work Performed**

A detailed or rough cost estimate may be made for the performance of the contractual work.

A performer cannot demand the payment of work and extra expenses not included in the detailed cost estimate unless the consumer agrees to their production or charges the consumer with the performance of such a work.

Provided there is need to exceed the rough estimate, the performer shall immediately notify the consumer. In this case the consumer shall have a right to renounce the agreement, having reimbursed the performer for the expenses incurred in connection with the work already done, under the original detailed estimate. If the performer did not warn the consumer of running over the rough estimate, he shall perform the work without demanding to be reimbursed for running over the budget.

**Article 34. Performing Work Using Performer's Materials**

A performer shall perform the work under the agreement, using his own materials and funds, unless the consumer requests the use of his materials.

The performer using his own materials to perform the work shall be liable for quality.

A performer's materials shall be paid for by the consumer when the agreement is signed in full or in the amount specified in the rules concerning the performance of individual kinds of work or the agreement; the final settlement takes place when the consumer receives the work as performed by the performer, unless an agreement between the parties sets a different procedure of payments for the performer's materials.

In cases provided for in the rules or agreement, the performer may provide the materials on a credit scheme. A subsequent change in the price of the materials provided on a credit scheme does not lead to the need to recalculate the cost.

The performer shall deliver the performer's materials and the required equipment, tools, etc., to the place where the work will be done.

**Article 35. Performance of Work Using the Consumer's Materials (Assets)**

If the work is performed entirely or partly using the materials (assets) of the consumer, the performer shall be responsible for the state of preservation of the materials (assets) and their adequate use.

The performer shall:

warn the consumer if the materials (assets) given to him are of inferior or inappropriate quality;

make a statement concerning the use of materials and return leftovers.

The performer shall be responsible for the loss of and damage to the materials (assets) that are received from the consumer.

In case of loss (or damage) of all or part of the materials (assets) that are received from the consumer, the performer shall replace them within three days by materials of the same kind, a thing of similar quality, and in case these are not available, refund double the price of the lost (damaged) materials (assets) as well as expenses incurred by the comsumer. In case of the loss of (damage to) all or part of the materials (assets) of the consumer, the performer shall, if the consumer wishes so, immediately reconclude the agreement and produce the product from a similar material (assets) as soon as reasonably possible.

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The performer shall be exempt from liability for the loss of (damage to), in full or in part, the materials (assets) that were received from the consumer provided the consumer was warned by the performer of its special properties which may lead to the loss of (damage to) it. The ignorance by the performer of these properties shall not relieve him of responsibility.

The cost of the materials (assets) that are transferred to the performer shall be determined by the consumer in an agreement or another document (receipt, order) confirming that the agreement was concluded.

**Article 36. Responsibility of Performer to Notify Consumer of Circumstances Threatening the Quality and Durability of Work Performed**

The performer shall notify the consumer in due time that compliance with the instructions of the consumer and other circumstances depending on the latter threaten the quality and durability of work performed.

If a consumer, in spite of a timely and well-grounded warning on the part of the performer, fails to replace an inadequate or low-quality material within a reasonable period of time, alter instructions as to the method of doing work or removes other circumstances threatening its quality and durability, the performer shall have a right to dissolve the agreement and sue for damages.

**Article 37. Form and Procedure of Payment for Work Performed (Service Rendered)**

The form of payment (cash or by transfer) of the work performed (service rendered) shall be determined by agreement between the consumer and the performer.

The consumer shall pay for the work performed (service rendered) when it has been delivered in its entirety, unless otherwise

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specified by the legislation of the Russian Federation and republics within the Russian Federation or the agreement.

The performance of work (service rendered), as well as the supply by the performer of materials on a credit scheme shall follow a procedure established by rules covering the performance of individual kinds of work (rendering individual services).

When work is performed on a credit scheme the consumer acquires property in its result at the time of the acceptance of the work.

**Article 38. Regulation of Individual Kinds of Services**

The consequences of the violation of the terms of an agreement concerning a service rendered that is not covered in this Section shall fall under the legislation of the Russian Federation and republics within the Russian Federation.

**SECTION IV. STATE AND PUBLIC PROTECTION OF CONSUMERS' RIGHTS**

**Article 39. Powers of State Committee of the Russian Federation for Anti-Monopoly Policies and Support of New Economic Structures**

**1.** To protect the rights of consumers, the State Committee of the Russian Federation for Anti-Monopoly Policies and Support of New Economic Structures (hereafter referred to as the Russian SCAP) and territorial agencies thereof:

monitor, as state bodies, compliance with the Russian Federation legislation on consumer rights protection;

curb monopolistic practices of economic entities and unfair competition on the consumer goods (work, services) market;

send injunctions to manufacturers (performers, sellers) demanding an end to the violation of consumers' rights;

file suits at courts of law and courts of arbitration against manufacturers (performers, sellers) in case of detected violations of consumers' rights.

**2.** The Russian SCAP shall have the right to conclude agreements with manufacturers (performers, sellers) to ensure their compliance with the rules and practices of business in the interests of consumers.

The Russian SCAP shall provide official explanations concerning issues in connection with the application of the Russian Federation legislation on protection of consumers' rights.

**Article 40. Powers of Agencies of State Administration Monitoring Safety of Commodities (Work, Services) for Consumers**

**1.** To ensure the safety of commodities (work, services), the Russian Federation State Committee for Standardization, Metrology and Certification under the Russian Federation President (hereafter referred to as the Russian Standards Committee), the State Committee for Sanitary and Epidemiological Supervision under the Russian Federation President, the Ecology and Natural Resources Ministry of the Russian Federation and other bodies of state administration monitoring the safety of goods (work, services) shall, within their terms of reference:

set mandatory requirements for safety of goods (work, services) and monitor compliance with these demands;

send injunctions demanding that violations of requirements for safety of goods (work, services) be stopped, ending production or manufacture and distribution of such goods (work, services), their recall, and notification of the consumers;

file suits at courts of law, courts of arbitration against manufacturers (performers, sellers) provided they violate requirements for safety of goods (work, services).

**2.** Coordination of operation of bodies of state administration that monitor the safety of commodities (work, services) in this field is the responsibility of the Russian Standards Committee.

**3.** The Russian Standards Committee is a national body for the certification of goods (work, services). Given this, the Russian Standards Committee shall:

lay down a procedure for the certification of goods (work, services);

define the range of goods (work, services) that are subject to mandatory certification;

accredit bodies for the certification of specific kinds of commodities (work, services), as well as testing laboratories (centres) to hold corresponding tests and give the right to accreditation to other legal persons;

monitor the accuracy of the certification of goods (work, services);

keep the state register of certified goods (work, services), accredited certification centres, testing laboratories (centres);

make decisions on recognition of the certificates issued by foreign and international bodies;

represent the Russian Federation in relations with foreign countries and international organizations on matters connected with the certification of goods (work, services).

**Article 41. Sanctions Imposed by the Russian SCAP, Russian State Standards Committee and Other Bodies of State Administration Monitoring Safety of Commodities (Work, Services)**

**1.** The Russian SCAP shall have the right to impose a fine on a manufacturer (performer, seller) for failure to comply or failure to comply in due time with his injunctions penalizing violation of consumers' rights, the size of fine being up to 1 mln. rubles.

**2.** The Russian Standards Committee and other bodies of state administration monitoring the safety of goods (work, services) shall have the right to lay a fine, within their terms of reference, for infractions falling within their terms of reference:

failure to comply or failure to comply in due time with their injunctions on part of the manufacturer (performer, seller) up to 1 mln. rubles;

damage done to consumers by goods (work, services) that do not meet safety requirements, a fine being equal to the damages the consumer incurs; provided these damages cannot be assessed, up to 1 mln. rubles;

violation of rules covering the certification of commodities (work, services) by certification bodies, testing laboratories (centres); the fine being equal to double the cost of certification work, and by the manufacturer (performer, seller), the fine being equal to the cost of commodities (work, services) that were sold in breach of certification rules.

**3.** Executives of certification enterprises and structures shall bear liability for the violations under Items 1 and 2 of this Article in the form of a fine imposed by the Russian

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SCAP, the Russian Standards Committee and other structures monitoring safety of goods (work, services), the size of fine being equal to three monthly salaries.

**4.** Manufacturers (performers, sellers) of goods (work, services) shall have the right to go to court of law or court of arbitration to seek that ordinances of the Russian SCAP, the Russian Standards Committee and other bodies monitoring safety of goods (work, services) be overturned in full or in part, or seek to get a decision that a fine be imposed, revoked or altered.

Filing a suit does not block the injunction or a decision on the imposition of a fine during its consideration in a court of law or court of arbitration provided a court of law or court of arbitration rules that action on the said injunction or decision be suspended.

**Article 42. Local Administrative Bodies for the Protection of Consumers' Rights**

**1.** A local administration shall set up bodies to protect consumers' rights.

**2.** A local administrative body for the protection of consumers' rights shall:

consider complaints from consumers, consult them on issues of the legislation protecting consumers' rights;

analyze agreements concluded by sellers (performers, manufacturers) with consumers to identify terms detrimental to the rights of consumers;

collect data on harm caused to the life, health or property of consumers by dangerous goods (work, services) and send it to the Russian Standards Committee (or territorial bodies thereof);

provided a consumer detects defects in commodities (work, services) or identifies a commodity (work, service) as dangerous, immediate notice should be given to this to appropriate services of the Russian Standards Committee, the Russian SCAP and other bodies of state administration that monitor safety of goods (work, services);

to protect consumers' rights, file suits at courts of law at own initiative or by instruction of a consumer (a group of consumers) or in the interests of an undefined group of consumers.

**Article 43. Rights of Public Organizations of Consumers in the Russian Federation**

**1.** Citizens shall have the right to form voluntary public organizations of consumers that operate under the legislation of the Russian Federation and the republics within the Russian Federation.

**2.** A public organization of consumers shall have the right to:

participate in developing requirements for safety of goods (work, services), as well as standards establishing these requirements;

provide independent expert opinions as to the quality and safety of goods (work, services);

check compliance with rights of consumers and rules of servicing in trade and other services;

suggest proposals to state administation bodies, enterprises, organizations and agencies with regard to measures to improve the quality of goods (work, services), ending of production and marketing of goods (work, services) that are dangerous to the life, health, property of consumers and the environment;

participate together with corresponding bodies of state administration in monitoring the use of regulated prices;

go to a procurator's office and bodies of state administation with materials to bring to account persons responsible for the manufacture and marketing of goods (work, services) that do not meet statutory requirements for safety and quality;

file suits in the interests of consumers that are not members of public organizations of consumers provided their rights are infringed upon under legislation on the proteciton of consumers' rights of the Russian Federation and republics within the Russian Federation.

**Article 44. Protection of Rights of Consumers by Public Organizations of Consumers**

A public organization of consumers shall have the right to file a suit at a court of law, seeking that the actions of a seller, manufacturer (enterprise performing its functions) be qualified as unlawful with respect to an undefined group of consumers and demand the termination of these actions.

Should the court decide to satisfy the suit, it obligates the wrongdoer to make the court decision known to the consumers through the mass media or otherwise.

When it takes effect, a court decision recognizing the actions of a seller, manufacturer (enterprise performing their functions), performer as unlawful as regards an undefined group of consumers, is binding on a court considering the consumer's claim on the civil and legal consequences of their actions in connection with the question of whether these actions took place and whether they were committed by these persons.

**Boris Yeltsin,**
President of the Russian Federation

# REGULATION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION ON THE TEXT OF LAW OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION "ON PLEDGE"

Having considered the revised draft of the Law of the Russian Federation "On Pledge," the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation rules that:

**1.** The text of the Law of the Russian Federation "On Pledge" be promulgated, with account of the additions and clarification made to it.

**2.** This Law shall take effect in accordance with a procedure established by a regulation of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation as of January 16, 1992, "On the Procedure of Implementation of the Law of the Russian Federation 'On Pledge.'"

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**Ruslan Khasbulatov,**
Chairman of the Supreme Soviet
of the Russian Federation,
May 29, 1992

## DOSSIER

# RUSSIAN FEDERATION LAW ON PLEDGE

### SECTION 1. GENERAL

**Article 1. Concept of Pledge**

A pledge is a method of covering an obligation whereby the pledgee, in case the debtor fails to meet his obligations, acquires a senior claim to the pledged property, save for cases specified in law.

**Article 2. Legislation of the Russian Federation on Pledge**

This Law defines the basic provisions on pledge.

Relations of pledge that are not covered in this Law are covered by other pieces of legislation of the Russian Federation.

Unless an international agreement of the Russian Federation establishes pledge rules other than those in the Russian Federation legislative acts, the rules of the international agreement shall apply.

**Article 3. Grounds for Pledge to Arise**

**1.** Pledge arises by virtue of an agreement or law.

**2.** A law providing for pledge to arise shall contain mention of what property shall be recognized as being in pledge and pursuant to what obligation it is pledged.

**Article 4. Sphere of Application of Pledge**

**1.** A pledge may be used to guarantee a real claim, viz. one arising from a lending agreement, including a bank loan, sale agreements, property hire, cargo shipment and other agreements.

**2.** The subject of a pledge may be things, securities, other property and property rights.

A personal claim and other claims that are prohibited from being pledged by law cannot be the subject of pledge.

**3.** A pledge may take place with respect to claims that will arise in the future on condition that the parties agree on a size of pledge to cover these claims.

**4.** A pledge is derived from the obligation it guarantees. The existence of a pledgee's rights is dependent on the destiny of the obligation the pledge guarantees.

**Article 5. Kinds of Pledge**

Law or agreement may provide for the pledged property to remain in the pledger's hands or passes into possession of the pledgee (pawn).

Commodities are put in pledge by transferring to the pledgee the documents of title to the goods that constitute a security. The pledged securities may be deposited with a notary or bank.

**Article 6. Property as Subject of Pledge**

**1.** The subject of pledge may be any property that may be alienated by the pledgee under the legislation of the Russian Federation.

**2.** Lien on a thing covers its appurtenances and indivisible fruits unless otherwise provided for by law or an agreement. Lien on a thing may include separate fruits only in cases, within limits and following the order provided for by law or agreement.

**3.** An agreement or law may provide for pledge to extend to things that may be acquired by the pledger in the future.

**Article 7. Pledge of Commonly Owned Property**

**1.** Commonly owned property may be put under pledge only with the consent of all the owners.

**2.** The pledge by an owner of his stake in a commonly-owned property does not require the consent of the rest of the owners.

**3.** The owner of an apartment takes autonomous decision on whether it should be pledged.

**Article 8. Replacement of Subject of Pledge**

The subject of pledge may not be replaced unless the pledgee consents to the replacement. The procedure of the replacement of the subject of pledge when goods in circulation are pledged is covered by Articles 46 and 47 of this Law.

**Article 9. Pledge and Insurance**

**1.** Law or agreement may put the pledgee under an obligation to insure the pledged property that passed into his possession.

A pawnshop shall insure at the expense of the pledger the pledged property's full value; an estimate of the value is arrived at by agreement of the sides when the property is taken in pledge.

**2.** A law or agreement may place the pledger under an obligation to insure against state bodies undertaking actions and promulgating acts terminating, impeding or unfavourably reflecting on his economic operation (confiscation, requisition of property), as well as liquidation or the recognition as an insolvent debtor.

**3.** Provided an insured accident takes place, a pledgee shall have a senior claim to the insurance indemnity.

**Article 10. Content and Form of Pledge Agreement**

**1.** A pledge agreement shall contain terms explaining the kind of pledge being used, the essence of the pledge-guaranteed claim, its size, the dates of meeting the obligation; the nature and cost of the pledged property and any other terms which should be agreed on if one of the parties wishes so.

**2.** A pledge agreement shall be in writing.

**3.** The agreement on pledge guaranteeing obligations arising from the principal agreement subject to be notarized or notarized by agreement of the parties, shall also be notarized by the structure that notarized the principal agreement.

**4.** The pledge condition may be mentioned in an agreement due to which the pledge-guaranteed obligation arises. Such an agreement shall be executed in a form established for a pledge agreement.

**5.** The form of a pledge agreement shall be determined in accordance with the legislation at the place where it is concluded. A pledge agreement concluded beyond the Russian Federation may not be recognized as invalid due to the use of a form different from that used in the Russian Federation unless Russian Federation statutory conditions are complied with.

The form of an agreement on the pledge of buildings, structures, enterprises, land plots and other facilities on the territory of the Russian Federation, as well as rolling stock on railroads, civil aircraft, sea and riverine craft, space based facilities registered in the Russian Federation shall be determined by the legislation of the Russian Federation, no matter where this agreement is concluded.

**6.** The rights and obligations of the parties to a pledge agreement shall be determined by law of the country where the pledgee is established or domiciled or conducts the bulk of operations, unless otherwise established by an agreement of the parties.

*(To be continued)*

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## A joint-stock company to increase Russia's gold production

South Africa, the United States, Canada, Australia and Russia are major gold mining countries. Between 1980 and 1990, Australia increased its gold production more than 10 times. In Russia, the joint-stock company Lenzoloto is trying to achieve the same, though on a lesser scale. It plans to expand gold production at the Bodaibo fields (Irkutsk Region) six times by 1999.

Registered by the Finance Ministry's committee for foreign investments on September 4 of this year, the joint-stock company Lenzoloto retained the name of the state-run association previously engaged in gold mining in Irkutsk Region. However, it is an entirely new type of enterprise. It is a Russian-Australian joint venture in the form of a joint-stock closed-type company. Thirty-one percent of capital belongs to the Australian consortium STAR Technology Systems Ltd. Using the experience and means of foreign investors, the new company will update old mining site, as well as launch new ones in the Bodaibo area. Capital is to be invested mainly in the development of existing gold fields and hard gold-bearing rock.

Gold will be sold to the Russian government's Committee for Precious Metals at world prices and on terms effective for state-owned fields. In view of all these circumstances, the authors of the idea of establishing the joint-stock company Lenzoloto believe that they were able to combine the interests of both the Russian state and foreign investor in the best possible way.

The STAR consortium demonstrated that it has serious intentions in the Russian market. It began its activity not with usual export-import operations, but with the supply of technology and equipment for gold mining. Under the STAR's licence and with its financial contribution, Irkutsk plants are already turning out Orocon units, which have considerably improved the porocessing of alluvial gold.

## McDonald's plans expansion

Its first Moscow restaurant is already a huge success and the Canada-based McDonald's is developing plans for further expansion in Russia and other CIS countries.

The Moscow McDonald's has made it because of the brilliant performance of its Russian staff, according to Deputy Chairman of the Board of the Moscow McDonald's, George Cohen. The company empoloys 1,900 people, including ten foreign nationals.

By next summer, McDonald's will open two new restaurants. Mr Cohen emphasizes that all profits in rubles will be reinvested into the running of the company.

Once its new restaurant is opened in the new 13-storey building on Ogarev Street, the company will start making profits in hard currency. Eleven of the 13 floors will be rented out as offices for foreign companies, but all the profits will be reinvested into development. But don't think that the prospering McDonald's doesn't encounter problems.

The Russian-owned Gurman company, which engages in public catering in Moscow, plans to increase its chartered capital to 300 million rubles and become a major rival to McDonald's. The Russian catering company also plans to have a farming network that will grow produce for the restaurant.

And the problems do not end there. A potential tradesmark problem lies on the horizon for McDonald's as well. Moscow Metro executives are not happy with the McDonald's logo, because the famous golden arches closely resemble the design of Moscow metro signs. The issue may be debatable, but thus far Moscow residents have been able to distinguish between the doors of the Metro (a decent way to ride) and McDonald's (a good place to eat).

*Photo by Vladimir Panov*

## Crocus International invites

The joint Russian-American venture has been in existence for slightly more than three years, but is well known among Russian and foreign business people, being one of the largest suppliers of footwear and consumer electronics to the Russian market. The enterprise trades in its products, has two folk art factories in the cities of Zagorsk and Lipetsk and holds international shows.

This year it has held a computer show in Romania and Russia, and a specialized consumer electronics and household goods show at the Russian Exhibition Centre (Consumer Electronics, 1992). With more than 100 American, European, Japanese and South-East Asian countries displaying their most high-tech items, the show was a success. Among the participants were JVC, SONY, Philips, NOKIA – a sign that leading producers of consumer electronics were interested.

The Crocus International shows are a good opportunity for Russian enterprises and agencies to bypass intermediaries and buy quality goods at moderate prices; they offer an opportunity for the participating companies to size up the situation on the Russian market and expand their business contacts. The participants also have a good opportunity to familiarize themselves with the Russian customs, tax and fiscal laws.

## Soyuz may some day save freedom

Rockwell International, one of the largest U.S. aerospace corporations, has signed a long-term agreement with the Russian production and research association, Energia, to cooperate in developing future space projects.

A recent press release explained that U.S. experts may soon begin work with their Russian colleagues to discover whether it would be possible to use the Soyuz space orbiter to save the U.S. orbiter Freedom, should the need arise. According to a corporation spokesman, the agreement has been approved by NASA.

According to Rockwell International, under the signed agreement, Energia will provide the U.S. company with mockups and components used in the production of the docking module to mate U.S. shuttles with the Russian Mir orbiter.

NASA plans the first docking of the U.S. Atlantis and the Russian Mir orbiter for 1995.

It is also reported that the centres in the USA and Russia prepare joint projects for a flight to the Moon and eventually to Mars.

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# The binary bomb has exploded

## The first victim has been arrested by the state security service

### Can treason be a departmental secret? Chemical weapons are banned, but the military continue to evade the ban

A scientist who revealed news about the development of a new type of chemical weapon in violation of international agreements has been put under arrest. Before his arrest Doctor of Chemistry **Vil Mirzayanov** and his colleague **Lev Fyodorov** paid a visit to the *New Times* office. They were interviewed by our reporter **Oleg Vishnyakov**.

**You are the first Russian chemical scientists to have openly disagreed with government policy on chemical disarmament. Why did your colleagues keep silent till now and what prompted you to take this step?**

**Vil Mirzayanov.** I worked for over 25 years at the Research Institute of Organic Chemistry and Technology (RIOCT) in Moscow. It developed and continues to develop new types of toxic agents along with the technology for their production. My actual job was to determine the micro-concentration of toxic agents in the air, water and soil. I took part in organizing the manufacture of new toxic agents and in the field tests of chemical weapons. In the last five years I have held the post of Director of the Department of Counteraction to Foreign Intelligence Services.

Let me note right away that the sober-minded scientists engaged in the work on chemical weapons have always realized the worthless character of their activity. Many of us tried to learn from higher-ups in the military if there exists in general a plan for the use of chemical weapons.

We well understood that our knowledge was worthy of a better cause. Nevertheless, we continued to work, mostly from the force of inertia. There was no other place for us. The wages in "secret" institutes and enterprises are a little higher than the average figure and, besides, the personnel have some privileges. I personally do not know a single scientist at our institute who enjoys his/her work. But this is the only work they can do. That's the tragedy.

**Lev Fyodorov.** I am a purely academic scientist. It was as a civilian that I became interested in chemical disarmament. It was disturbing to me as a scientist that changes in the Soviet Union's relations with its "probable enemies" were not affecting the chemical weapons sphere. Moreover, in the late 1960s, when the

In 1989 George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev signed an agreement under which the United States and the Soviet Union pledged to discontinue the manufacture of chemical weapons and destroy them. For the first time American experts were admitted to Soviet installations, including the chemical ground at Shikhany, Saratov Region (see photo). At the same time a new binary weapon was being developed at full speed

United States had discontinued the production of war gases on a mass scale, we put into operation the Novocheboksary chemical plant, the Soviet Union's largest enterprise for the manufacture of chemical weapons. Preparations had obviously been made for several years. But work could have been stopped in good time...

It hurts me particularly to talk about the Novocheboksary chemical plant. I am a Chuvash by nationality (Novocheboksary is situated in the Chuvash Autonomous Republic. – **Ed.**), and I am not indifferent to the fate of the Chuvash people.

**Let's talk about this new toxic agent.**

**V.M.** About two years ago scientists at our institute developed a new toxic agent which in its combat characteristics exceeds five to eight times the most poisonous of the existing toxic agents of the VX type. It is practically impossible to cure a man if this agent even gets only on his skin. I know people who became exposed to this toxic agent. All of them remained invalids.

With this new toxic agent we developed our own binary weapon which proves to be far more effective than the American one. How did we achieve that? The point is that, as distinct from the American binary weapon, one of the components of our weapon is a toxic agent.

An experimental lot of the toxic agent was produced at a plant in Volgograd. After that several scientists who developed the agent and military chiefs involved in the project received the Lenin Prizes directly from the hands of President Gorbachev. This was the spring of 1991, that is, after Bush and Gorbachev had signed a bilateral agreement under which the United States and the Soviet Union pledged to discontinue the manufacture of chemical weapons and destroy them.

**The bilateral agreement says nothing about the *development* of chemical weapons. As far as I know, similar laboratory research is also conducted in the United States.**

**V.M.** It is not a matter of laboratory research in this given case. The Lenin Prize was awarded only after an experimental lot had been produced at a plant. I am not talking about a lot of several thousand tons. However, we produced five to ten tons of the new toxic agent, this is a fact. Precisely this amount was necessary for field tests which ended last spring on the Ustyurt plateau, near the city of Nukus. By that time this was already the territory of sovereign Uzbekistan, and I doubt that its President Islam Karimov knew about these tests.

**L.F.** The most unpleasant aspect of this story is that the two components are not on the list of substances – intermediate products – which must be inspected under the Geneva Convention. From the purely legal point of view we are not in violation of the Geneva Convention. But, in fact, negotiations on chemical disarmament need to begin again.

Despite the arrest of Dr. Mirzayanov and the unequivocal warning by Security Ministry officials we nevertheless publish this interview. Why?

The preservation of a state secret is necessary for ensuring Russia's national security. But does the development, testing and industrial manufacturing of a new, highly dangerous weapon of mass annihilation meet our security interests?

Early next year Russia is going to sign the Geneva convention on chemical disarmament under which it will have to dismantle all chemical arsenals and renounce the building of new ones. This means that Russia does not need chemical weapons: their manufacture and storing are much more dangerous than their supposed military advantage.

Such is the policy of the President and parliament of Russia. Such is also the official stand of the Defence Ministry. If, as Doctors Mirzayanov and Fyodorov assert, a binary weapon is nevertheless developed secretly, in whose interests is it to keep this secret?

**Which of the Soviet leaders knew about the new weapon?**

**V.M.** The monopoly on this information was in the hands of those who developed the weapon. Incidentally, we continued to produce the toxic agent of the soman type for about two years after Shevardnadze's statement in 1987 that the USSR was unilaterally terminating the development and manufacture of chemical weapons.

**Did Yeltsin know about the production of the new toxic agent?**

**V.M.** I doubt that, though as First Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee he was responsible for all defence-related plants on the territory of Moscow.

Does he know now? As far as I can judge, our President, just as his predecessor, has little trust for alternative sources of information, preferring to receive it only from his aids. Gen. Anatoly Kuntsevich, ex-Deputy Chief of Chemical Weapons Forces, is now Yeltsin's chief aid on the matter. In 1982 he promised that the Soviet Union would not take countermeasures to oppose the escalation of binary weapons by the United States. In 1991 he was awarded the Lenin Prize for the creation of a new weapon.

**Judging by the rather successful visit of Anatoly Kuntsevich to the United States, Americans do not believe very much in the existence of a new type of chemical weapon.**

**V.M.** I think that on the eve of elections the US administration doesn't want to admit publicly that the Russians have deceived them.

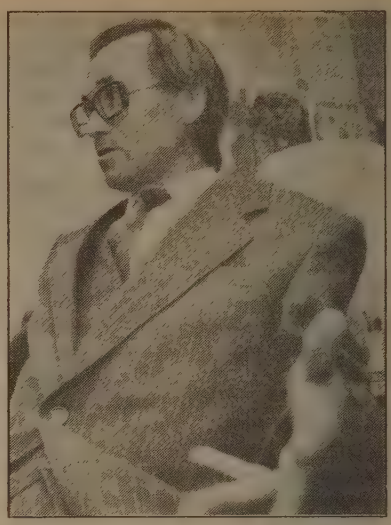
**L.F.** The point is that the American military chemists are on more friendly terms with their Russian colleagues than with their own politicians.

**According to our official data, Russia has 40,000 tons of toxic agents. To what extent is this figure true in your opinion?**

**V.M.** When I worked in the institute specialists said we had 60,000 to 70,000 tons. I have never heard the figure of 40,000. It is obviously low.

**L.F.** Under the US-Soviet agreement on chemical weapons the total amount of toxic agents possessed by each country must not exceed 50,000 tons. Officially, Russia has 40,000 tons (against 35,000 tons in the United States), with 30,000 tons of them being new, phosphorous toxic agents soman and VX and 10,000 tons of old skin-burn toxic agents of the yperite and lewisite type and their mixtures. I think the Russian stock of

Chemical scientist Vil Mirzayanov honestly fulfilled the orders of "chemical generals" all his life. He is no longer going to do that. He considers it a duty of a Russian citizen to make dangerous departmental "secrets" public and thus take care of the real interests of the state and society. Now he is threatened with a trial. It must be an open trial. It is quite possible, however, that, as a person who knows state secrets, Mirzayanov will be tried behind closed doors.



40,000 tons consists only of toxic agents ready for use.

**What do you mean?**

**L.F.** The issue is that it's much more difficult to destroy old toxic agents than phosphorous ones. Besides, yperite and lewisite are indeed very difficult to handle and, possibly, the authorities had decided to partially get rid of this stock of toxic agents earlier, so as not to frighten the world very much by making the stock known to all.

Let's count. Beginning with 1942, the Chapayevsk plant in Samara Region produced about 1,500 tons of yperite and lewisite a year. This continued till the end of the war. In addition, after the war we brought from Germany one more plant for the manufacture of yperite and lewisite. It was running till 1952, producing annually the same amount of these toxic agents as the Chapayevsk plant. There is also a small experimental plant on the grounds of the RIOCT in Moscow. It produced yperite and lewisite too. Incidentally, during the October 1941 panic in Moscow the entire stock of yperite and lewisite was buried right on the institute's territory. If a bulldozer is brought in, I am sure chemical shells from the war years can be found there.

Seven storage sites for toxic agents are situated on the territory of Russia. We know only two of them – in the town of Kambarka in Udmurtia, and in the town of Gorny in the Saratov Region. Yperite and lewisite are stored on these sites. Under the Bush-Gorbachev agreement we pledged to inform the Americans of the location of other bases. True, the agreement was not ratified, and we could drag our feet on implementing it. However, when I wrote a letter to the Foreign Ministry, requesting, as an independent ecologist, the coordinates of these bases, my request was denied. Incidentally, the Americans make no secret of the location of their bases of toxic agents.

**If I understood you correctly the military decided to quietly get rid of yperite and lewisite.**

**L.F.** Citizens of Chapayevsk assert that a part of yperite which was not taken away to the Trans-Baikal region was buried right on the territory of the chemical ground. Inhabitants of the Pokrovka village could observe a strange phenomenon in the early 1980s. Land blazed up and rose. Chemists have an explanation for this process. Yperite was buried and alkali or chlorine was poured over it. As a result, an exothermic reaction took place. In September of this year I asked for permission to go to the plant's territory and the chemical ground to take samples of earth there. However, permission was denied on the personal order of Gen. Petrov, Chief of Chemical Weapons Forces.

Another incident took place at the Kambarka storage site in the mid-1980s. A poisonous smell unexpectedly came from its depots, and people began to fall ill. It turned out that the military decided to burn lewisite there in the open air. However, the local citizens were not informed.

It is known now that in the 1950s considerable stocks of yperite and lewisite were drowned in the White Sea. This was "made known" to us by starfish several years ago. Earlier, in the 1940s, yperite was drowned in the Pacific.

Lastly, there is a small railway station, Kotelnikovo, not far from Nizhny Novgorod. Officially, an "air detachment" was stationed there. In fact, it had no relation to aviation. All chemical shells which began to leak (and this happened rather often) where taken to that station. The "air detachment" shot and burned these shells. The local forest had a rusty colour the whole year round.

So the "missing" 20,000 to 30,000 tons of yperite and lewisite were drowned in the Pacific and the White Sea and buried in Chapayevsk and, perhaps, in Dzerzhinsk as well.

**Almost nothing is known about the production costs of toxic agents over these years, and there is no information about the victims of this production.**

**L.F.** In Chapayevsk, thousands of peoples' lives were ruined in the wartime. Soldiers ineligible for service worked at the chemical weapons plant. There was no labour protection. Yperite and lewisite were added to shells with tea-kettles and scoops. After several months people working on the home front became invalids and died. New people filled their spots at the factory.

In nearby villages there is perhaps no family which doesn't have a relative who died at the chemical plant.

**V.M.** In Dzerzhinsk, closed technology was introduced only in the 1950s, and before that the production process was absolutely in the open.

Many experts, military included, believe there was no need for some types of toxic agents and that their manufacture was not justified.

**L.F.** I am deeply convinced, first of all, that we should not work with lewisite. It is a highly toxic substance derived from arsenic. In spite of their "fondness" for toxic agents, Germans did not start the production of lewisite. Americans gave up the production of lewisite during the Second World War. The Soviet Union, having organized lewisite production before the war, continued it till the 1950s.

Or let's take soman, which had replaced sarin in our country in the 1960s. Americans gave up soman right away because, in their opinion, its production technology was unjustifiably expensive. Several intermediate substances, including phenacoline alcohol, had to be obtained first for the manufacture of soman. We're talking about a complex technology. However, our scientists spared no effort nor public money in developing this toxic agent and were awarded Lenin Prizes for its manufacture.

**Officials repeatedly stated that in the USSR there was not a single accident at the plants manufacturing toxic agents.**

**L.F.** This is not quite the case, to put it mildly. I know about two serious accidents at such plants. In 1974, a workshop at the Novocheboksary plant, which produced the VX gas, was seriously damaged as a result of a fire. I have no information about the consequences of this disaster and its victims.

**V.M.** A no less terrible disaster took place in Volgograd in 1964. All discharges of a workshop which produced sarin were concentrated in one place and then diluted with general waste. A so-called "white sea" – a dump of highly toxic waste – appeared. During a flood in the spring of 1964 the "white sea" joined with the Volga. Eye-witnesses recall that the river from Volgograd to Astrakhan was white because of fish floating belly up.

It is said that enraged Kosygin, then Vice Premier, demanded severe punishment for those guilty. Boris Libman, chief engineer of the Volgograd plant, was chosen as the "scapegoat." By that time he was already a Lenin Prize laureate. The prize was taken away and Libman was put in prison. While serving his term in a camp, he wrote and defended a thesis for a candidate's degree. Libman now lives in Philadelphia.

**Were there cases of chemical weapons use in the USSR?**

**L.F.** There is documentary proof that Mikhail Tukhachevsky, a hero of the civil war, used toxic agents against peasants who revolted in Tambov Region in 1921.

There is also information that the Soviet Union was preparing to use chemical weapons during the Finnish campaign in 1940.

In 1970, Polish authorities used a Soviet-produced police gas "CS" against demonstrators in Gdansk.

Let's recall the events in Tbilisi in April 1989. According to official data, troops used "CS" for breaking up the demonstration.

**V.M.** I know for certain that it was not "CS" but something more serious. I talked with my institute's colleagues who analyzed the samples. The protocols of the analysis were destroyed and then falsified.

**What do you think of our programme for the destruction of chemical weapons?**

**L.F.** As far as I know, this programme has not yet been approved.

In an interview to Russian TV Anatoly Kuntsevich noted ruefully that, "as distinct from the United States, in our country the production of toxic agents was unfortunately located in densely populated areas." He had in mind Volgograd, Dzerzhinsk, Novocheboksary and Chapayevsk.

**V.M.** Americans plan to destroy their chemical weapons right at military bases which are situated in uninhabited areas. The chemical weapons located at American military bases abroad have already been taken out and are being destroyed on the Johnston Island in the Pacific.

**Russian military experts at a chemical weapons base in the United States. It seems Americans played according to the rules**

As distinct from Americans, our generals plan to return toxic agents from military bases to chemical plants, that is, densely populated areas, where they are to be destroyed by burning. There are no guarantees that the citizens of the towns concerned will not be exposed to toxic agents during this operation.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that at the time of burning sarin, soman and VX are not destroyed completely but remain in concentrations thousands and tens of thousands of times higher than the maximum permissible one. It is not a matter of technology. It is indeed impossible to destroy these agents. That is why Americans burn toxic agents in remote places knowing beforehand that ecological pollution cannot be avoided. To my mind, our programme for the elimination of toxic agents is a complete bluff.

**What should be done in your opinion?**

**V.M.** In our country chemical disarmament is carried out by people who armed us with chemical weapons. Unless we change the entire concept behind the destruction of toxic agents and replace the persons responsible for this operation with new people, I do not believe that the whole job will be done safely for the population and the environment.

*Photos by A. Kudenko and from Der Spiegel*

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# The Katyn cross on communism's tomb

President **Lech WALESA** of Poland answers questions posed by *New Times* correspondent **Rudolf BORECKI**

We met a few days after the Russian President's special representative presented documents about the Katyn tragedy to Poland's President – a crime which was one of the communist era's worst (see *NTI* No. 44/92). However, our conversation reached beyond the limits of the half-a-century-old tragedy.

## "People, don't bemourn the past!"

**New Times.** Mr President, what does the word "Katyn" mean to you as a human being, a Pole, as the leader of the Polish state?

**Lech Walesa.** Of course, Katyn is much more than a mere geographic notion to every Pole. The Katyn issue can be discussed in many aspects. I prefer to talk about the one I consider the most important. I'm aware of the reaction the presented documents have caused in our country, in Moscow and in the West, and yet my answer will be different from that given by many commentators of this event and circumstances connected with it. The Katyn tragedy has passed the final verdict on the inhumane system, depriving its advocates of all possible arguments in its favour. There are people in our two countries who want communism back even now. Yeltsin has realized what I understood earlier: that until the **whole** truth is said about communism, there will remain grounds for doubts and speculations that "it wasn't so bad in those days, after all." The Poles must give themselves the final answer to the question: what sort of political system bore the name of the Polish People's Republic? It's impossible to give the right assessment of other facts and phenomena, not having answered this question. In my opinion, Boris Yeltsin has made a heroic act, having made public the documents about Katyn, the South Korean plane and American POWs. By doing this, he told all of us: people, don't bemourn the past and don't wish it to return. To my mind, this is the main implication of the Katyn case. It closes all discussions about the "historic mission" of communism forever and puts an end to all attempts to restore it. We must think about the ways to prevent such tragedies in the future.

## The verdict on the system

**N.T.** How may the truth about Katyn affect the relations between our nations?

**L.W.** What matters here is that the lie was unmasked by the guilty side and not by the side which suffered. In this I see a positive sign and a promise that our countries will henceforth develop relations between them openly and on the basis of mutual trust and respect. Katyn will serve us a lesson and a warning.

**Lech Walesa: The final verdict for the inhumane system** *Photo by ITAR-TASS*

**N.T.** You've called the action by the Russian President heroic. However, it's believed that both our presidents, Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, have known about the existence of the most important of these documents since at least December 24, 1991. Your comments, please.

**L.W.** All Soviet and Russian leaders before Yeltsin followed the tactics of partial concessions. No one dared say the whole, exhaustive truth. All his predecessors used to give in under the pressure of circumstances, "at the cost of the least losses," so to speak. Yeltsin's action has put an end to this sort of retreating to the "positions prepared in advance." Now we can build our relations on a fundamentally new basis, as I have already mentioned. The Russian President's courage was that he refused to be a hostage of false "supreme interests" (following the principle of admitting only what can't be denied any longer). I can explain the tactics of your former leaders in this sphere only by that, in some way or other, they confessed the faith in an "improved" socialism. But how is it possible to call for an improvement in a system capable of committing such atrocities? The truth about Katyn and the concept of reformed socialism are incompatible. Yeltsin broke this vicious tendency, which was his great service rendered to both our nations.

**N.T.** To the best of my knowledge, General Jaruzelski also tried, in his time, to find out all the circumstances connected with the of annihilation of Polish officers in the USSR...

**L.W.** General Jaruzelski acted in precisely "his time," i.e. he was urged by concrete circumstances. He had to resort to the tactics of "pressure buildup." Now we can reflect as much as we like on whether he ought to

have been more insistent, rejecting the princple of "a lesser evil," or not, and so on. The General had to deal with former leaders, he belonged to their era and he accepted their rules of the game. It's a different question to what extent this tactics was imposed upon him and to what extent he himself deemed it the only possible one. What matters personally to me is not the moment Yeltsin chose for his action but the fact that he **did make it**, radically changing the entire atmosphere surrounding our relations.

**N.T.** A Polish journalist has said that after such an action by Yeltsin there is nothing left for the Russian Constitutional Court to do...

**L.W.** ...except for passing the verdict. Yes, I agree with him. It only remains to formulate it. No one is thirsty for vengeance, I guess, but the world must know that the criminal system represented by a criminal party is no more. Now we also have the full right to openly call demagogues those people in Poland who try to blame the crimes of an organization on separate individuals. I'll even add that now a person making such declarations looks like an accomplice in the crimes of the regime he is nostalgic for.

## From NATO to a NATO-II

**N.T.** Let us pass now to more general problems. I have in mind the entire East European region, once known as the socialist community, where Poland along with others is living through a period of changes in political orientation. What is the specifically Polish approach to the major milestones on this path, in particular, to NATO?

**L.W.** When I expressed the idea of a so-called NATO-II it caused anxiety in Moscow. There was no reason for the worry actually, because I wasn't at all calling for the creation of a new military bloc, still less so against Russia. My proposal was that such post-communist states as Poland, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia and the Baltic states could agree to create common security structures ruling out possession of certain types of weapons (nuclear, chemical and the like). Russia wasn't expected to enter these structures precisely because she is a nuclear state (and will, in all likelihood, remain so), and, since Russia possesses a high military capability, needs no external protection. Her defence system is self-sufficient.

**N.T.** You mean, Poland has found herself between NATO and Russia?

**L.W.** Yes, exactly. I want to say that in a situation when NATO doesn't want us and Russia was sort of pushed aside after the liquidation of the Warsaw Pact, we seem unable to solve the problems of the inviolability of our borders and of preventing possible borderline conflicts without uniting into a collective security system of sort. Therefore a NATO-II, as I see it, would have been exclusively an instrument for supporting peace in the East European region, not at all aimed against Russia. This was the essence of my idea.

**N.T.** During the recent visit by Acting Russian Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar to Poland you suggested creating personal presidential missions, Polish in Moscow and Russian in Poland, in order to facilitate and expedite contacts between our economies. Has the idea started to materialize?

**L.W.** It seems to me that there is complete undestanding between the presidents. As for the executives, they are definitely in no hurry. I'm aware that you have a very complicated situation in your country, politically, ethnically and economically. But let us be more efficient in finding ways to earn more without cheating each other and in determining what we can offer each other for mutual benefit. I believe that the presence of personal representatives of the presidents will promote this process. Some changes have already started, but it's too early to speak about any definite results yet.

**N.T.** A fierce struggle for power, sometimes camouflaged and at other times cynical and obvious, is taking place in our countries, compromising the young democracy. Is this a natural phenomenon in a transition period?

**L.W.** The science of democracy is to be paid for. A collision of ambitions is an unavoidable phenomenon. This must be lived through. However, we were unable to pass over to a more productive period as long as we were gripped in the vices of our past. Today, thanks to Boris Yeltsin's courageous action, we have turned over a page of our mutual claims. Now it's hardly imaginable that the old party diehards could block our advancement.

**N.T.** A different problem seems more hazardous to me. The struggle for leadership is now taking place not between the old and the new, but within the new.

**L.W.** If your Parliament and Constitutional Court pass the final judgement on the criminal system and its party, this also will be a serious legal lesson to the newly-born democracy. Some present bosses believe that it's still possible to circumvent law, as was regularly done before. This mentality is an inherited vice.

**N.T.** It's especially dangerous that the split in the democratic movement in our country is coupled with the formation of a coalition between the extreme right and the extreme left. Is there anything of the kind in Poland too?

**L.W.** Of course. Political extremes always attract the most noisy and cunning adventurists. They cheat people by unrealistic promises and essentially false but currently attractive slogans, while the centre comprises, as a rule, restrained, efficient and far-sighted people who have no time for rallying. They understand that people can't be cheated indefinitely. The problem is when and how much we'll have to pay for the deceit. I will conclude by saying that the most difficult of what has befallen our generation is the demolishion of the old and the building of the new. And these two objectives must be accomplished simultaneously. History until now has known nothing of the kind...

**N.T.** Thank you for the interview.

* * *

And now a short afterword. The Katyn tragedy which painfully faught its way into the public light has lived its sinister life for half a century. It has been impossible to conceal the graves of over twenty thousand shot officers or suppress the memory which persisted in their families and among their friends. The Katyn tragedy embarrassed and hurt not only the Poles but also those of us, the Soviet people, who stayed for some time in that country. Like a horrible phantom, it haunted the expances from the Bug River to the Oder, from the Tatra Mountains to the Baltic Sea. I have "my own Katyn," an episode which haunts my memory every time I hear this symbolic word, KATYN...

One dank morning either in late November or in early December of 1981 I walked to a tram stop, covering my face from biting blows of wind carrying damp snow. The street was empty and half-dark. I noticed unnaturally small human shapes stirring against the light background of a building. As I approached, I saw two children aged 10 or 12 carefully writing on rough concrete: AVENGE KATYN!

At last the history of this terrible, inhumane and base crime has been finally closed. The act by Russia's President, regardless of its political motivation, tends to be viewed in Poland as akin to the lofty act of repentance by the late Chancellor Willy Brandt who knelt before the monument in the Warsaw ghetto. The Poles and the entire world will remember him in that posture for all eternity.

Certainly, the traces of the Katyn tragedy will long be preserved in the land of Poles – in crushed families, unborn children, in the loss of most dear ones, in all that remained unaccomplished. But truth, like time, heals. Repentance alleviates the burden of guilt.

WARSAW

The Russian Investment and Real Estate Agency has won the right to organize the sales of uncompleted industrial projects at the first competition of commercial structures in Moscow and the corresponding certificate has been issued to it.

Director-General **Valentin Pankratov** sees the reason for the Agency's success primarily in that it uses the services of experienced experts in real estate, investment projects, building engineering and securities. "The range of our activities reaches far beyond the problem of uncompleted projects," he explains. "We even undertake selling completed projects: shops, factories, plants. Besides that, the Agency actively helps the population in buying and selling apartments, garages and other kinds of real estate."

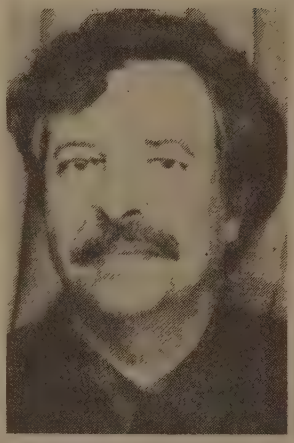
The Agency has a broad network of branches and offices all over Russia and the CIS. It hopes to be among the leaders in the forming of an all-Russia market of investments, real estate and securities.

The Agency also sponsors charitable causes. Thirty percent of profit made by it at the first auction was handed over to the Russian Fund of Social Support for the Population. The Agency regularly remits part of its profits for the reconstruction of the Church of All Saints in Kulishki, Moscow.

Branches of the company will soon be holding real estate auctions in Yaroslavl, Smolensk, Tsarskoye Selo near St.Petersburg, in Ryazan and other cities.

■■■

The new head of the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Moscow, **Peter Schulze,** 49, headed, prior to his recent assignment, the Foundation's London branch. He was fascinatned with the prospect of working in Moscow, one of the hot spots of world politics. It was a challenge to him, he thought, both personally and as a historian who researched the Soviet period of Russian history over a long time.



His dissertation, written in the West Berlin Free University, was titled *The Constitutional Period of the Stalinist Era* and covered the period from 1930 to 1938. Schulze has written a great many books, booklets and articles about the contemporary history of the USSR, in which he analyzed all its stages up to "late Brezhnevism."

His wife, Regina, a schoolteacher, also shows a long-standing ("romantic," according to Peter) interest in Russia. She was going to immediately move to Moscow together with their

## A frocked political instructor?

The dean of the Church of the Transfiguration of Our Lord in Tushino, Moscow, Archpriest **Fyodor Sokolov,** is called Russia's first chaplain, although Father Fyodor himself believes that journalists have been too optimistic – officially there is no Chaplain Corps in Russia yet. There is only the army leaders' and the Church hierarchs' common desire to revive their pre-revolutionary tradition.

Until recently, Father Fyodor had nothing to do with the army. Only once did he consecrate a Moscow police banner, his main occupation being the giving of absolution to the inmates of a transit prison.

One day Father Fyodor was invited to an International Conference of Chaplains in Rome. Since then he has become a regular participant in meetings with service people, widows of those fallen in the WWII and with students of the Armed Force Humanitarian Academy (formerly the Military Political Academy named after Lenin). Officers began to come to him with requests to consecrate their weapons and apartments.

There has emerged a Brotherhood of the Orthodox Christian Military, and the society, The Military for the Spiritual Resurrection of the Army. According to an opinion poll held by the Defence Ministry Committee for Personnel Matters, 60 percent of non-commissioned officers and soldiers believe the army will perish without the Church.

Father Fyodor is satisfied that the Church is returning back to the army. However, he knows that we are prone to extremes, and so he's afraid religion will become a new ideology. He doesn't at all want to fill the vacancy left by the political instructor, therefore he is against restoring the institution of regimental priests.

Father Fyodor doesn't want soldiers being brought to him in ranks. He believes that a priest must come to a company or a regiment only when invited by soldiers themselves. If necessary, a small room can be reserved for praying, reading the Gospel and confessing. "We don't want to impose ourselves upon the army," says Father Fyodor, "Christ said: 'I will not turn away him who comes to me.'"

*Ye. Kopteleva*

two daughters, aged 6 and 12. But Peter decided he had to first check out the place, get accustomed to it and learn Russian before bringing his family there. As a young man, he studied many subjects, first at Berlin University, then in the London School of Economic and Political Sciences, and later in Berkley and Stanford (USA). Similarly, now he studies Russian, devoting to it three hours every day. Near a huge poster of his favourite group Pink Floyd, there are numerous tables of declension and conjugation paradigms and lists of Russian idiomatic expressions on the walls of his office.

■■■

That **Anatoly Mytarev** does not often come to Moscow is only natural, because the joint-stock company Uvelen-Inchoven he is in charge of is located, by Moscow standards, at the middle of nowhere. To be more precise, it is on the coast of the Bering Straits which separates Chukotka from Alaska.

Born in Chukotka, Anatoly is an ardent enthusiast of the market economy: he has seen its advantages on his several trips to Alaska. These trips prompted him to transform a state-owned collective farm into a joint-stock company. What does he do? His company has nearly 3,000 reindeers, grows more than 2,000 blue sables and hunts for walruses.

Export of blue sable pelts alone earned a decent capital in US$ for the company. During his latest trip to Moscow, Anatoly managed to sign new agreements on the shipment of blue sable pelts, which will make it possible to increase their population and the company's profits. But Anatoly's plans go even farther. "We want to involve foreign partners in processing reindeer skins and meat, which some say is a delicacy; this requires advanced equipment," and Anatoly

guarantees potential partners very advantageous terms, including the possibility of barter trading.

This is even more interesting in view of the fact that the territory belonging to the company is rich in oil, coal and even gold and diamonds. So Chukotka reindeers could become for potential partners a step towards participation in the development of the area's mineral resources.

But reindeers cannot be treated lightly, says Anatoly, they are a source of scarce and valuable export commodity, for example, horns, a traditional medicine in the Orient. Anatoly's company also exports seal fur to China and can also increase the production of walrus tusk souvenirs which have a good market in Japan, France and Switzerland. What the company requires is solid commercial ties, and Anatoly is seeking them.

Chukotka's pristine beauty is also a good commodity, says Anatoly, who has an eye on the development of the tourist industry in the region. This year the area was visited by more than 100 French and Scandinavian tourists. Anatoly has already agreed with Alaskan businessmen on expanding business. The Alaskan department of community and regional affairs supports his ideas. An agreement has been reached in Moscow with the New Times Publishing House. But Anatoly believes that there is room for other partners to join his enterprise that will be involved in international tourism, hunting and fishing in scenic and exotic places in Chukotka and Alaska.

## The unmasked Imre Nagy

The Hungarian Communist Imre Nagy took part in murdering Tsar Nicholas II and his family, claims Austrian researcher **Elisabeth Heresch** in her recently published monograph "Nicholas II."

Elisabeth Heresch has established that this is the same Imre Nagy who, upon being taken prisoner of WWI by the Russians, enthusiastically greeted the October revolution and defended it with arms in his hands. Later, he became Prime Minister of Hungary, was condemned and executed after the events of 1956 and not so long ago was reburied and raised to the rank of a national hero.

Elisabeth Heresch showed interest in Russian history as early as in her student years. She was an Austrian Radio and TV correspondent in the USA and contributed to magazines and newspapers for several years, but her love for history eventually took the upper hand. During the two last years alone she has published two voluminous monographs on the tsarist period in Russian history.

The main purport of her books is to prove the perverse nature of the October revolt. In her opinion, which is convincingly substantiated by documents from the Foreign and Defence Ministries of Germany, as well as by Kaiser Wilhelm's correspondences, the proletarian revolution in Russia was carried out by Bolshevik leaders who were bought and blessed by Berlin. The author sees the reason for the generosity displayed by Germany with regard to Lenin and his team primarily in the desire of the German ruling circles to remove Russia as a rival. Russian capitalism, which was gaining strength, threatened the interests of German business.

Mrs Heresch is pleased with the interest shown in Russia to her investigations. Her monographs are now prepared for publication in this country. Besides, President Yeltsin's representatives who try to prove the unconstitutionality of the CPSU in the Constitutional Court have contacted her as an expert on Russian history. Dr Heresch wants to render them her full support.

# In praise of Menshevism

**These people weren't loved in Russia 70 years ago, nor are they loved now. Yet it's precisely they who have turned out right in the historical dispute which lasted almost the whole of this century**

On October 10, 1992, a conference took place in the Berlin Reichstag under the title "A Last Encounter With the Cold War." It was sponsored by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, a group of leading Western intellectuals which had been founded in 1950 and for about a quarter of a century was an important factor in the struggle "for hearts and minds" of the Western intelligentsia.

## Even the CIA money can serve a good cause

It is impossible even in retrospect to find a common denominator for the inspiration of the congress; among its founders were Arthur Koestler and Bertrand Russel, Raymond Aron and Ignazio Silone. It was assisted by Willy Brandt, but unknown to its members, its secretary also accepted financial support from the CIA.

Common to them was a commitment to the ideas of freedom, the willingness to fight for the preservation of freedom against attacks from Communism and fascism. Very broadly speaking, it was an organization uniting liberal anti-Communists and through its magazines (such as *Encounter* in English, *Der Monat* in German, *Preuves* in French, and others) it exerted considerable influence and, as expected, created much hostility on the part of Communists and fellow travellers, who attacked it as an "instrument of the Cold War" and "excessive anti-Communism."

The Congress went out of business in the later 1970s; its journals continued to exist a few more years. In retrospect it is now clear that in the great Western intellectual debate of the 1950s and 1960s the Congress was right, not its detractors.

This in briefest outline was the background for the meeting of about a hundred leading intellectuals in Berlin last month.

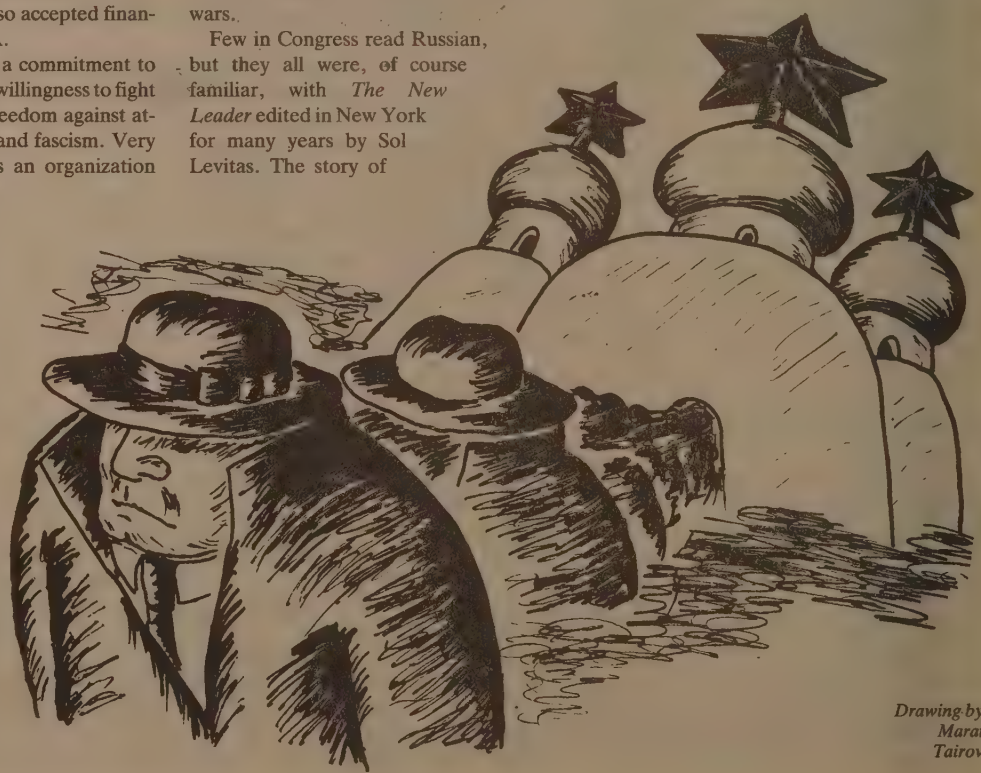
The Congress of Cultural Freedom did not have a party line on Communism, the Soviet Union, or indeed any other subject. But there is no denying that the impact of Menshevism in this context was greater than that of any other group.

With Menshevism I mean not only card carrying members of the Russian Social Democratic party in exile, but the whole democratic wing of the Russian emigration, including the Social Revolutionaries who edited *Sovremennye Zapiski*, the most important periodical in Russian published outside Russia between the two world wars.

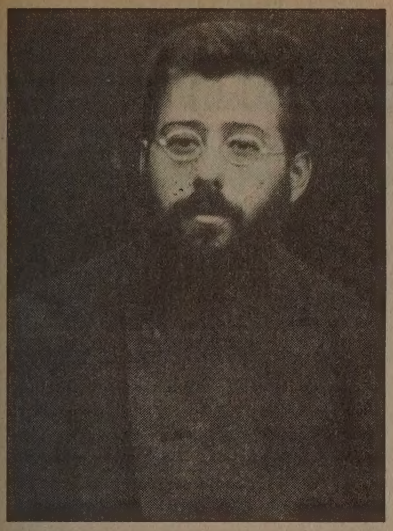
Few in Congress read Russian, but they all were, of course familiar, with *The New Leader* edited in New York for many years by Sol Levitas. The story of *The New Leader* remains to be written: I doubt whether there ever was another small and impecunious weekly which had indirectly so much influence.

## Are Leninists a Black Hundred gang?

The debt which liberal anti-Communism owes to the Mensheviks is immense, but to the best of my knowledge no one has drawn attention to it in recent years, least of all in Russia. Since glasnost Russia has rediscovered all kind of thinkers who were suppressed for many decades. The monarchists have reprinted Ivan Ilin and Ivan Solonevich, the extreme right has republished the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," the memoirs of Denikin, Wrangel and even Trotsky have been reprinted, *Vekhi*, that famous collection of essays has been reissued and quoted countless times; it is difficult to open a Russian journal these



*Drawing by Marat Tairov*



Yuli Martov

days without facing an essay by, or at least a quotation from Berdyaev. Despite some misgivings, even General Vlasov has been rehabilitated, and the brochures and books of the NTS are widely available. But there is a massive white spot, and this refers to the Mensheviks and the anti-Communist Russian left.

Most Russians have only the haziest notion who these parties and leaders were, and in the West some highly misleading references have been made by writers who should know better. Thus Prof. Martin Malia in an article which contains much that is true about fellow travelling views and "revisionism," in Soviet studies, refers to "neo-Menshevism," laboring under the strange delusion that this was something akin to Bukharinism, a doctrine based on the belief that Bolshevism was essentially a progressive phenomenon. It had played a positive role in the past, and was to be defended against its detractors at present.

This was in brief, a caricature of Menshevism. No political group is perfect, and there were some hesitations on Martov's part during the revolution and its immediate aftermath even though he was always sure that "Asiatic Bolshevism" had to be combatted to the utmost.

Until shortly before his death (he passed away in 1923) Martov stuck to the notion that since it was a working class party, Bolshevism could not be all wrong. But Martov also wrote early on that he had no sympathy for Asian police socialism which negated political freedom, that Bolshevism was a senseless utopia which would end in disaster. Towards the end of his life he became more and more hostile to Bolshevism, which he called the "party of the executioners: As soon as they came to power, they began to kill."

It is also true that Fyodor Dan under the impact of the Soviet victory over Nazi Germany in 1945 suffered a relapse into pro-Sovietism and misjudged the future turn of events in the Soviet Union. But main line Menshevism in the 1920s and thereafter was not in the tradition of Martov and Dan but rather of Pavel Axelrod who wrote Martov in a famous letter in 1921 that "it was not in a mere ourburst of polemical ardor, but from deep conviction, that I described the Leninists ten years ago as a Black Hundred gang of double dyed criminals within the Social Democratic party."

There were people who assessed Bolshevism correctly on all sides of the political spectrum, from the Monarchists on the right to Bertrand Russell and Rosa Luxemburg. But as a group the record of the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries in exile was unrivalled in its perspicacity and consistency.

## There were no traitors among them

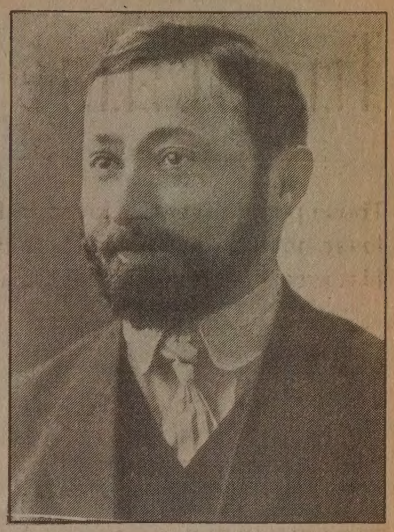
Whereas a great many Russian émigrés of the centre and the right, including high churchmen and Tsarist generals, made peace with Stalin, were penetrated by the GPU, became Soviet agents of influence and even returned to Russia, there was not a single Menshevik, and only one Social Revolutionary (the younger Sukhomlin) who turned traitor.

Even Milyukov and Maklakov, even Berdyaev and Timasheff towards the end of their life found much to admire in Stalinism, which they had sharply denounced only a few years earlier. The only ones who did not waver were the liberal anti-Communists. They were also the most prophetic.

After a mere three years of Soviet power, Marc Vishniak, a right Social Revolutionary and editor of *Sovremennye Zapiski*, noted that Bolshevism would disappear but its legacy of unfreedom was pernicious and profound and would not easily vanish. While the thousands of kilometers that separated Russian Bolshevism from the West had given it "features of sublimity and grandeur," he saw no reason for optimism as far as the future of freedom in Russia was concerned.

Today the Russian right points with pride to its consistent stand in the past. In truth, the behaviour of many of them was far from admirable; even some of the Russian fascists chose ultimately to return to Russia and wrote grovelling letters to Stalin.

There were some outstanding thinkers among the Russian émigrés such as the theologian G.P. Fedotov who was fully aware of the weakness of the position of the Russian nationalists who had rejected Bolshevism above all because of its internationalist, anti-patriotic character. He wrote in 1935:



Fyodor Dan

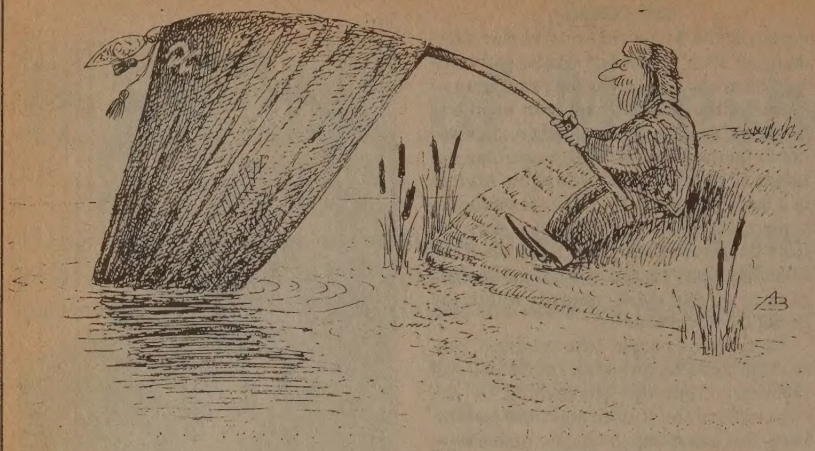
*"A liberal knows why he is against Soviet power: because it destroys freedom. Democrats also know, because Bolshevism oppresses the people, because it falsifies the national will and suppresses all forms of self-government. A socialist opposes it because Soviet power exploits the people and invokes in vain the very term socialism, which becomes a synonym for a giant state prison. Honest individuals who do not belong to any political party are against Bolshevism because Soviet power educates people to dishonesty and lack of moral conscience. Religious people have every reason to oppose Sovietism which has made atheism the state religion.*

*"But why should a nationalist* pur sang *oppose Soviet power except for personal rancor? His opposition was based on a misunderstanding; once this misunderstanding is cleared up the nationalists will return to Russia as similar groups such as* Smena Vekh *and the Eurasians did before."*

If Fedotov's prediction did not literally come true, it was mainly because Stalin did not want the émigrés to return. But by and large, Fedotov analyzed the situation correctly; and it is, no doubt, for this reason that he remains among the thinkers who are still ignored in Russia.

## They weren't appreciated

The Mensheviks were few in number, they had no financial means at their disposal, no radio station, no secret channels to penetrate the Soviet Union, only a small monthly. But they did what they could to inform the West about the true situation in the Soviet Union, first among their fellow social democrats, the Second International, later among the public at large. In this respect their role was unique. Their opposition did not begin with the trials and terror



*Drawing by Alexander Zudin*

of the 1930s but many years before 1917. Their quarrel was not with Stalin but with Lenin.

As Abramovich told the Second International in 1928:

*"However much fascism and Bolshevism may differ in their social ideals and class contents, they are alike as blood brothers in their method and ways. Fascism and Bolshevism are the two great dangers threatening the working class from opposite sides but equally strongly. It is imperative that the Socialist International fight them, in different fashion but with all the energy and strength it can muster."*

Fifty years later Abramovich would have been drummed out of a meeting of American Sovietologists for uttering such crude and primitive anti-Communist views, yet history has born out the dire analysis and prediction of the Mensheviks.

It is quite untrue that they did not care about the fate of the peasants (as Solzhenitsyn and Shafarevich claim); on the contrary, in countless resolutions and publications they denounced the collectivization, demanded that it be discontinued forthwith because it was leading not only to untold suffering but to the ruin of Russian agriculture.

It would be too facile to compare the record of the Mensheviks and their allies among the liberals with the extreme right in the Russian emigration – say with Alexander Kazem Bek who with great sound and fury established a fascist movement (Young Russia), only to crawl back to Moscow in the 1950s to end his days as employee of the Moscow patriarchate.

Vasili Shulgin, a leading and highly intelligent spokesman of the Russian right before the war and in the 1920s, found himself in Russia after 1945 as an involuntary guest – he had been arrested in Yugoslavia at the end of the war. For this reason one should perhaps not judge his subsequent declarations too harshly. But it is still a historical fact that no Menshevik ever recanted ideologically in such an abject way as Shulgin, praising the achievements of Sovietism, admitting that his ideological beliefs had been all wrong.

## A Cassandra from the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party

Among the Mensheviks there were no outstanding thinkers of international renown – theologians such as Berdyaev, political philosophers such as Struve, sociologists such as Timasheff, historians such as Milyukov. But their political track record was still infinitely better; they never claimed that Western democracy was bankrupt (like Berdyaev and Struve), there were no kudos for Mussolini, no predictions about Stalin's "great retreat" (Timasheff), no genuflections to the Soviet system towards the end of their lives (Milyukov and Berdyaev).

The Mensheviks were right where so many others went astray because they had deeply held democratic convictions which made it impossible for them to compromise either with fascism or Bolshevism. They also had a good deal of political experience and common sense. These hopelessly old-fashioned Social Democrats were greater realists in their political assessments than more clever and erudite ideologists; these "cosmopolitans" were also better Russian patriots.

None of them lived to see their views born out by history. Their journal *Sotsialisticheskij Vestnik* ceased to appear in the 1960s for want of writers and readers.

History does not award prizes to people who have been right prematurely; in the intellectual climate of contemporary Russia the Mensheviks are as unfashionable as they were seventy and fifty years ago. No statues will be erected in Moscow to Abramovich, even not to Boris Nikolayevsky. If it had not been for *The New Leader* they would have been forgotten also in the West, except among some academic specialists.

Time has come to accord to the Mensheviks at long last their rightful place in Russian political and intellectual history, before mythology takes over.

Politically they were bound to fail for there was no future for their ideas in Russia in 1917. But they realized more acutely than others that the Bolshevik coup would lead to total disaster; as warners to the world they were farsighted and consistent. They never compromised with the dictatorship which made them as popular among the Western left as Cassandra was among the Trojans. It should be hoped that they will remembered as long as Cassandra.

*Walter Laqueur*
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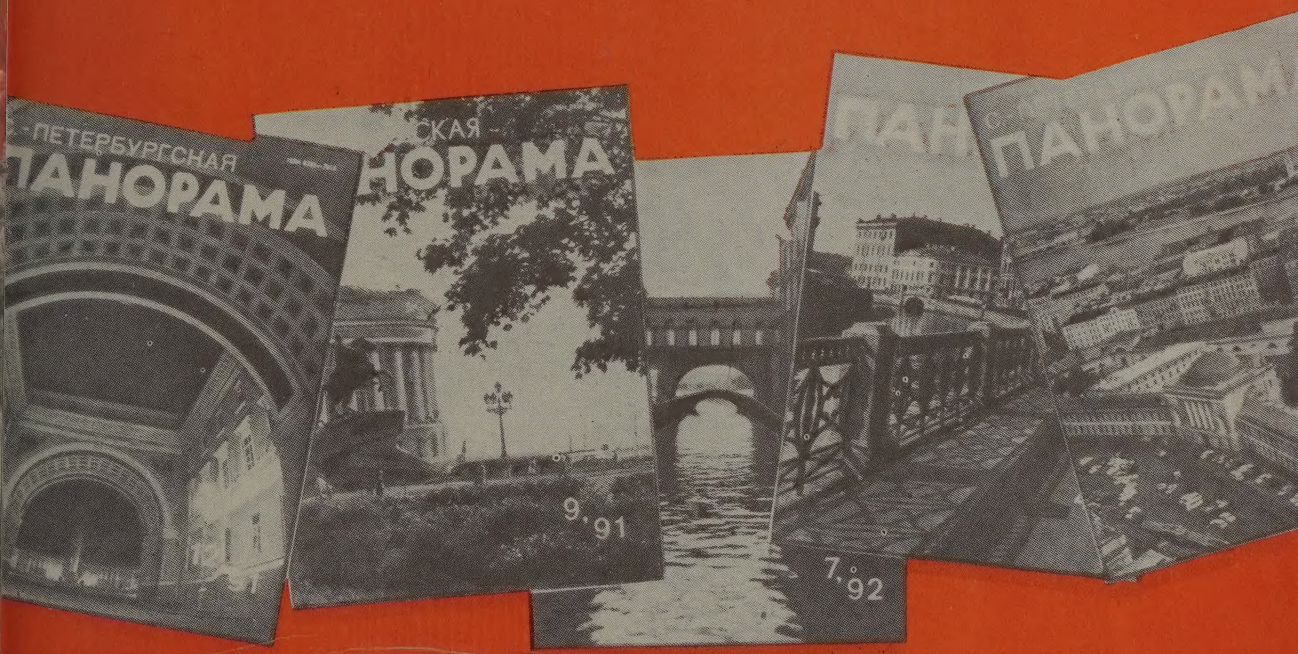


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